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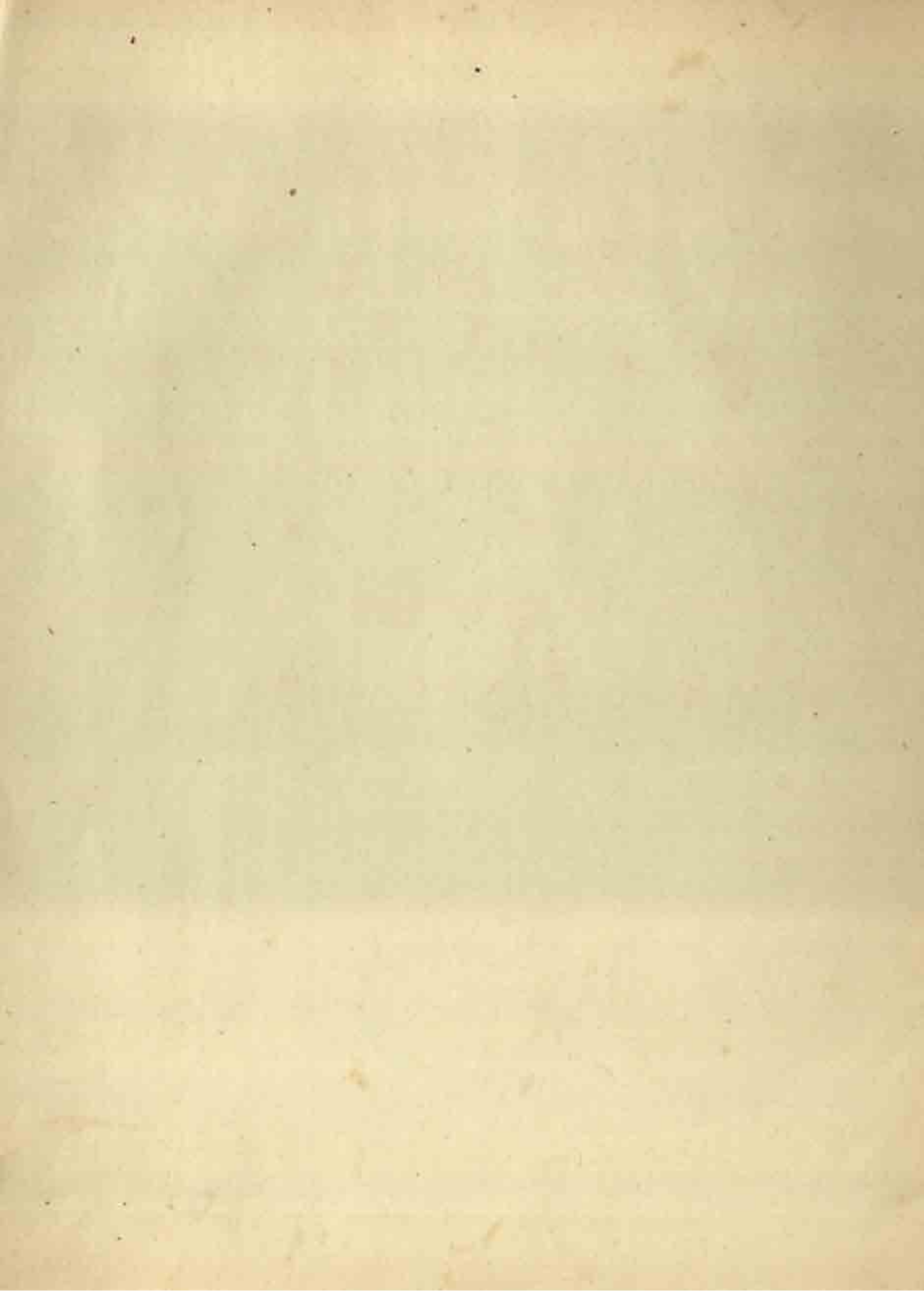
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LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA

VOL. XI

GIPSY LANGUAGES



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LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA

VOL. XI

GIPSY LANGUAGES

COMPILED AND EDITED BY

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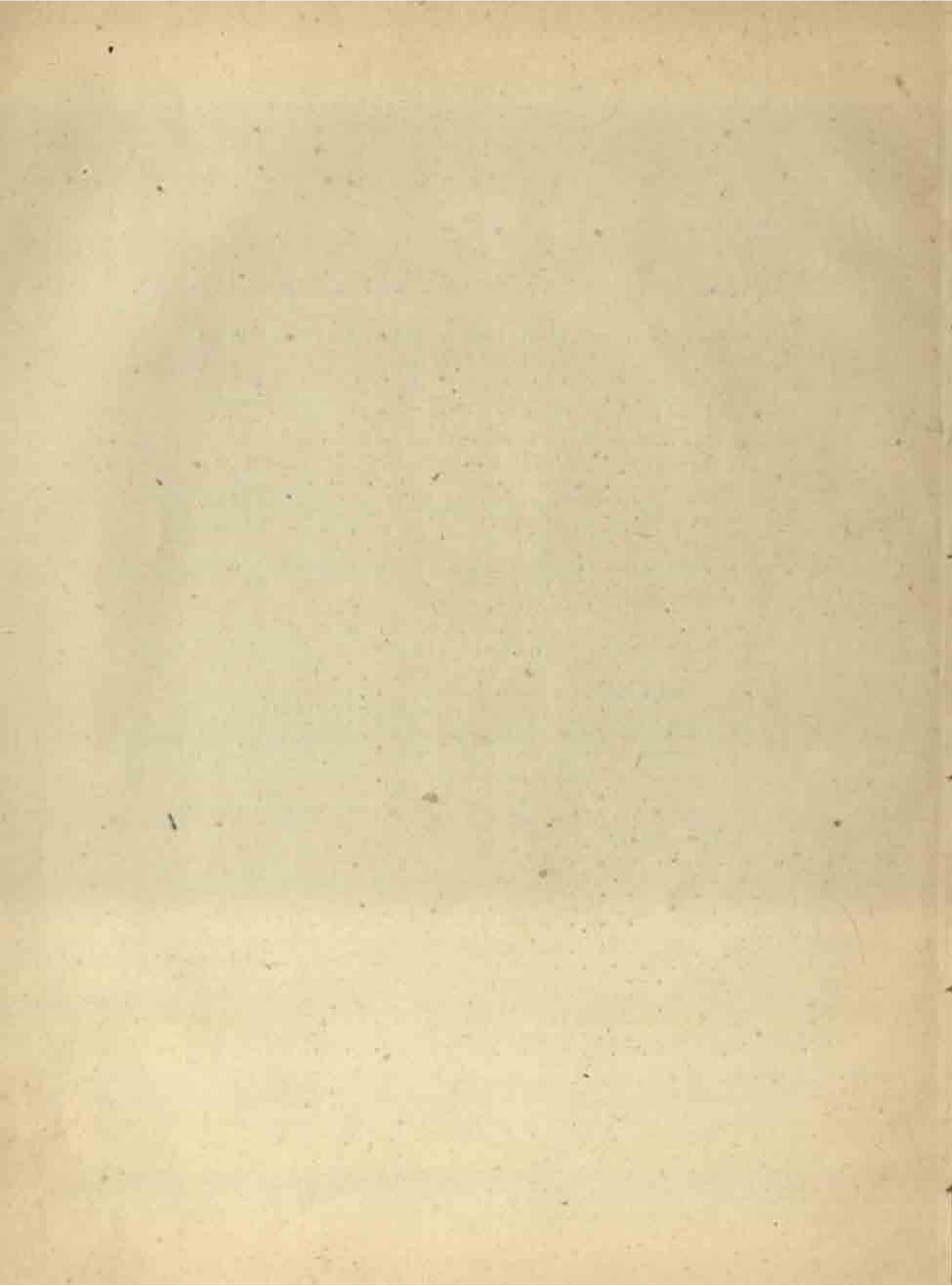
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Subject to subsequent revision, the following is the proposed list of volumes
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- Vol. I. Introductory.
- " II. Môn-Khmêr and Tai families.
- " III. Part I. Tibeto-Burman languages of Tibet and North Assam.
- " " II. Bodo, Nâgâ, and Kachin groups of the Tibeto-Burman languages.
- " " III. Kuki-Chin and Burma groups of the Tibeto-Burman languages.
- " IV. Mundâ and Dravidian languages.
- " V. Indo-Aryan languages, Eastern group.
- Part I. Bengali and Assamese.
- " II. Bihârî and Oṛiyâ.
- " VI. Indo-Aryan languages, Mediate group (Eastern Hindi).
- " VII. Indo-Aryan languages, Southern group (Marâṭhî).
- " VIII. Indo-Aryan languages, North-Western group.
- Part I. Sindhî and Lahndâ.
- " II. Dardic, or Piśācha, languages (including Kāshmîrî).
- " IX. Indo-Aryan languages, Central group.
- Part I. Western Hindî and Pañjâbî.
- " II. Rājasthānî and Gujarātî.
- " III. Bhil languages, Khândeshî, etc.
- " IV. Pahārî languages.
- " X. Eranian family.
- " XI. "Gipsy" languages.



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CONTENTS.

SYSTEM OF transliteration	Page
INTRODUCTORY NOTE	vii
	ix

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

INTRODUCTION	1
Name	1
Languages	1
Authorities	4
Number of speakers at 1911 Census	4
Classification	5
Argots	7
Indian argots	8
Comparisons	10
Pronunciation	12
Specimens	13
Bharṣī	17
Specimens	18
Beldari	22
Specimen from Ellichpur	24
" " Baldana	25
" " Jalsalpur	27
" " Ramburg	30
Gopi	31
Name	31
Language	31
Marathi affinities	32
Gujarati-Rajasthani affinities	33
Other affinities	33
Specimen from Panch Mahals	34
" " Ahmedabad	37
" " Cutch	39
" " Hyderabad	42
" " Muzaffargarh	45
Lipi	47
Specimen	48
Sāsi	49
Name of the tribe	49
Area within which found	49
Number of speakers	49
Authorities	50
Ordinary dialect	50
Pronunciation	51
Nouns	51
Pronouns	52
Verbs	52
Specimens from Northern Punjab	54
Specimen from Kheri	59
Original Sāsi	60
Specimens	64

	Page
KOLHATI	71
Name	71
Occupation	71
Number	71
Language	72
Authority	73
Dialect	73
Specimens	74
Argot	76
Specimens	77
GAROI	82
Specimens	84
MYANWALE OR LEHAI	89
Specimens	91
KANJARI	96
Name of the tribe	96
Number	96
Language	97
Specimens	103
Kuchbandhi	119
Specimen	120
NAT:	121
Number of Nats	121
Name	121
Language	121
Argot	121
Specimens of Baisya Nat, Mainpur	124
" " Nat, Mainpur	130
" " Baisya Nat, Etawah	132
" " Pahar Bhabar, Rampur	133
" " Nat, Bijnor	138
" " Brijlaxi, Bahraich	141
" " Nat, Bhagalpur	143
DON	149
Number	143
Name	143
Authorities	144
Language and argot	144
Specimen of Magahiya Don	147
" " Dimsa	150
MALAB	153
QANAI	153
Name	156
Number	156
Authorities	156
Language and argot	156
Specimens	159
SIVAGIRI	167
Name	167
Number	167
Language	167
Connexion with Sivagiri	167
Argot	168
Specimens	170
GULGULLA	173
STANDARD LIST OF WORDS AND SENTENCES	177

LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA.

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION ADOPTED.

A.—For the Dēva-nāgarī alphabet, and others related to it—

अ a,	आ ā,	इ i,	ई ē,	उ u,	ऊ ū,	ऋ ṛi,	ॠ ṛe,	ऐ ai,	ओ o,	औ au.
क ka	ख kha	ग ga	घ gha	ङ ṅa	च cha	छ chha	ज ja	झ jha	ञ ña	
ट ṭa	ठ ṭha	ड ḍa	ढ ḍha	ण ṇa	त ta	थ tha	द da	ध dha	न na	
प pa	फ pha	ब ba	भ bha	म ma	य ya	र ra	ल la	व va or wa		
श sha	ष sha	स sa	ह ha	ळ ṛa	ड ḍha	ऊ ūa	ळ ṛha			

Visarga (:) is represented by *h*, thus क्रमः *kramah*. Anusvāra (◌̣) is represented by *m*, thus सिंह *simh*, वंश *vaṁś*. In Bengali and some other languages it is pronounced *ng*, and is then written *ng*; thus बाङ्ग *baṅg*. Anunāsika or Chandra-bindu is represented by the sign ~ over the letter nasalized, thus मै *mē̃*.

B.—For the Arabic alphabet, as adapted to Hindōstānī—

ا a, etc.	ح h	د d	ر r	س s	ع ʿ
ب b	خ kh	ذ dh	ز z	ش sh	غ gh
پ p	ف f	ط t	ج j	ص s	ق q
ت t	ك k		ل l	م m	ك k
ث th				ن n	گ g
ج j				ه h	ل l
				و w	م m
				ي y	ن n
					when representing anusvāra in Dēva-nāgarī, by ~ over nasalized vowel.
				و w or e	
				ه h	
				ي y, etc.	

Tanwīn is represented by *n*, thus فَاوَان *fauran*. Alif-e maqṣūra is represented by *ā*;—thus دَاوِی *da'wī*.

In the Arabic character, a final silent *h* is not transliterated,—thus بَند *banda*.

When pronounced, it is written,—thus گُنَہ *gunāh*.

Vowels when not pronounced at the end of a word, are not written in transliteration. Thus بان *ban*, not *bana*. When not pronounced in the middle of a word or only slightly pronounced in the middle or at the end of a word, they are written in small characters above the line. Thus (Hindī) देखता *dēkh'tā*, pronounced *dēkhtā*; (Kāsh-mīrī) देख *dēkh*; कह *kah*, pronounced *kor*; (Bihārī) देखिय *dēkhiy*.

C.—Special letters peculiar to special languages will be dealt with under the head of the languages concerned. In the meantime the following more important instances may be noted:—

- (a) The *ts* sound found in Marāṭhī (च), Paṣtō (ڄ), Kāshmirī (چ, ټ), Tibetan (ཅ), and elsewhere, is represented by *ts*. So, the aspirate of that sound is represented by *tsʰ*.
- (b) The *dz* sound found in Marāṭhī (ज), Paṣtō (ج), and Tibetan (ཇ) is represented by *dz*, and its aspirate by *dzʰ*.
- (c) Kāshmirī (ٺ) is represented by *ṭ*.
- (d) Sindhi (ڄ), Western Pañjābī (and elsewhere on the N.-W. Frontier) (ڄ), and Paṣtō (ج) or (ج) are represented by *ṣ*.
- (e) The following are letters peculiar to Paṣtō:—
 ټ *t*; ځ *ts* or *dz*, according to pronunciation; ځ *q*; ځ *r*; ځ *zh* or *g*, according to pronunciation; ځ *ph* or *kh*, according to pronunciation; ځ or *ṣ*.
- (f) The following are letters peculiar to Sindhi:—
 ٻ *bb*; ٻ *bh*; ٻ *th*; ٻ *t*; ٻ *th*; ٻ *ph*; ٻ *jj*; ٻ *jh*; ٻ *ohh*;
 ٻ *ṇ*; ٻ *dh*; ٻ *q*; ٻ *q̇*; ٻ *q̈*; ٻ *k*; ٻ *kh*; ٻ *gg*; ٻ *gh*;
 ٻ *ṣ*; ٻ *ṣ*.

D.—Certain sounds, which are not provided for above, occur in transcribing languages which have no alphabet, or in writing phonetically (as distinct from transliterating) languages (such as Bengali) whose spelling does not represent the spoken sounds. The principal of these are the following:—

<i>ā</i> ,	represents the sound of the <i>a</i> in <i>all</i> .
<i>ā</i> ,	" " " <i>a</i> in <i>hat</i> .
<i>ē</i> ,	" " " <i>e</i> in <i>met</i> .
<i>ō</i> ,	" " " <i>o</i> in <i>hot</i> .
<i>e</i> ,	" " " <i>é</i> in the French <i>était</i> .
<i>o</i> ,	" " " <i>o</i> in the first <i>o</i> in <i>promote</i> .
<i>ō</i> ,	" " " <i>ō</i> in the German <i>schön</i> .
<i>ū</i> ,	" " " <i>ū</i> in the " <i>mühe</i> .
<i>th</i> ,	" " " <i>th</i> in <i>think</i> .
<i>dh</i> ,	" " " <i>th</i> in <i>this</i> .

The semi-consonants peculiar to the Mundā languages are indicated by an apostrophe. Thus *k'*, *t'*, *p'*, and so on.

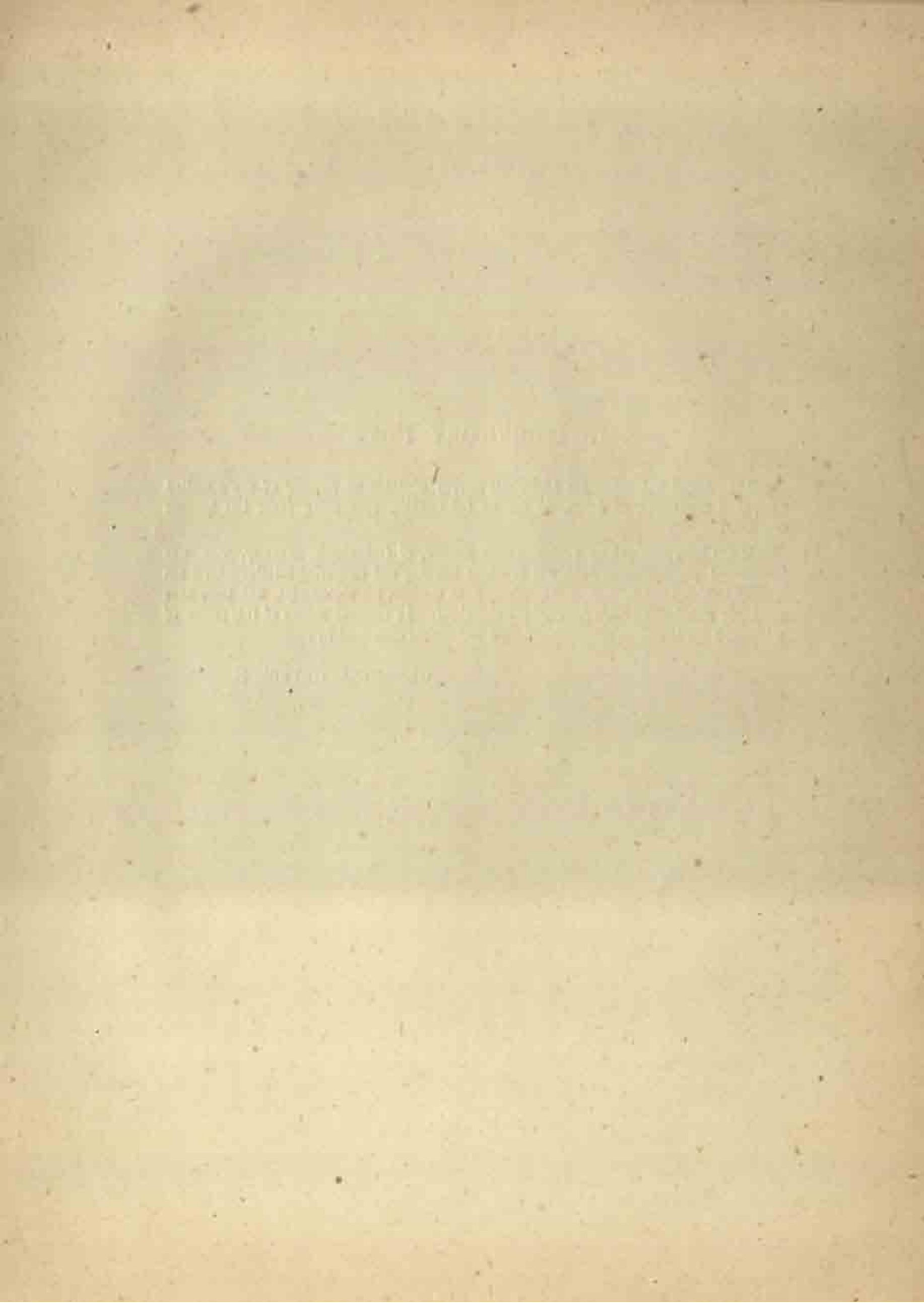
E.—When it is necessary to mark an accented syllable, the acute accent is used. Thus in (Khōwār) *assiatat*, he was, the acute accent shows that the accent falls on the first, and not, as might be expected, on the second syllable.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The present Volume of the Linguistic Survey contains an account of the so-called "Gipsy Languages" of India, so far as information concerning them has become available.

It has been prepared by Professor Sten Konow, of Christiania, Norway, who was for several years my Assistant, and to whose learning and unsparing collaboration I am heavily indebted. I have myself carefully gone through his manuscript, and have here and there added a few remarks over my signature. As General Editor of this series of volumes, I am therefore responsible for all statements contained in it.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.



GIPSY LANGUAGES.

INTRODUCTION.

Migratory tribes are found all over India, and are of different kinds. Some of them, like the Pendhāris, are descended from adventurers and individuals belonging to various castes and trades; others, like the Banjārās, Ōḍs, and so on, are occupational units, who wander all over the country in pursuance of their trade; others again are much of the same kind as the Gipsies of Europe, tumblers, jugglers, acrobats, or thieves and robbers, who have come under the Criminal Tribes Act.

It has become customary to call these tribes Gipsies, but this designation does not imply any connexion between them and the Gipsies of Europe. The word Gipsy, which is, as is well known, a corruption of Egyptian, was originally applied to those well-known migratory tribes who began to make their name known and feared in Europe from the beginning of the 15th century, because they described themselves as coming from Egypt. The word has then also come to be used to denote other peoples of similar, migratory, habits, and this is the sense in which it has been used in this Survey. The Gipsy Languages are, accordingly, dialects spoken by the vagrant tribes of India.

Our information about these forms of speech is necessarily limited. Many of these vagrants simply speak the language of their neighbours. Others are bilingual or even multilingual, adopting the speech of the district where they happen to stay in all their dealings with outsiders, but retaining a peculiar dialect of their own when talking among themselves. For this latter purpose many of these tribes have also developed a secret argot, which they commonly call Pārsī, 'Persian,' and they are naturally shy of initiating others into it. These argots will be dealt with below. They have not anything to do with grammar, but are based on some dialect, which may be designated as the home tongue of the tribe. Moreover, such tribes as have not developed any artificial argot, often have a dialect of their own. Such forms of speech cannot, of course, be expected to present the same consistency as ordinary vernaculars. It is a consequence of the migratory habits of the tribes, that their languages are to some extent mixed. Where the base is comparatively uniform and practically identical with one definite tongue, such dialects have, in this Survey, been dealt with in connexion with that form of speech. Thus the dialects of the following vagrant tribes have been described in connexion with Dravidian languages in Vol. IV of this Survey.

Name of dialect.	Estimated number of speakers.
Kocava and Yernkala	55,118
Kaikāḍi	8,289
Burgapḍi	265
Gōlari	3,614
Kurnmha	10,399
Vaḍari	27,089
TOTAL	104,782

Others have been dealt with in connexion with the Bhil languages in Vol. IX, Part iii, of this Survey, *viz.* :—

Name of dialect.	Estimated number of speakers.
Bāort	43,000
Banjāri	158,500
Chārāgi	1,200
Habārā	950
Pārāhī or Tākūhārī	8,648
Siyālgiri	120
Tarimāki or Ghināgi (Vol. IX, Part ii)	1,669
TOTAL	214,087

There remain some vagrant tribes, who have, during the operations of this Survey, been reported to possess languages of their own, *viz.* :—

Name of dialect.	Estimated number of speakers.
Beldārī	5,140
Bharūti	14
Dām	13,500
Gārōdi	9
Gulgullā	853
Kanjari (including Kachhāndhī)	7,085
Kolhāti	2,307
Lādī	500
Machariā	30
Mālar	2,300
Myānwālā or Lhārī	2
Nāti	11,534
Ōdri	2,814
Peoḍhārī	1,250
Qaḡāl	2,700
Sāli	51,550
Sikalgārī	25
TOTAL	101,671

Of these, Machariā was returned from the Kapurthala State as spoken by a tribe of fowlers who had come from Sind. It has turned out to be ordinary Sindhi with a slight admixture of Pañjābī and need not occupy us any more in this place. The remaining Gipsy dialects named above will be described in the ensuing pages. This list is unfortunately far from exhausting the number of such languages. We know that the Chōhrās, the Dalāls, the Naqqāsh, and several other tribes and castes possess secret trade jargons of their own, and many criminal tribes have been described who freely mix their speech with slang words and phrases in order to prevent outsiders from understanding them. No new materials about them have, however, been forwarded for the purposes of this Survey, and I can therefore only refer to such authorities dealing with them as I have come across.

AUTHORITIES—

- MUHAMMAD ABDUL GHAFUR.—*A Complete Dictionary of the Terms used by the Criminal Tribes in the Punjab; together with a short history of each tribe, and the names and places of residence of individual members.* For the use of the police and jail officers serving in the Punjab. Lahore: Printed at the Central Jail Press, 1879. Contains Slang terms of Gamblers, pp. 29-30; Piffers or Uthāigiras, pp. 32-38; Khallait, Uchakkā and Tagā, pp. 38-40; Sansis, pp. 40-51; Doonias, pp. 51-54; Gandhilas, pp. 54-56; Sweepers of Delhi District, p. 57; Sweepers of Punjab, pp. 57-59; Harnis, pp. 59-60; Baurias, pp. 60-61; Minas, p. 62; Meos, pp. 62-63; Ahirs and Goojars, p. 64; Thugs, p. 65; Pachhāddas, pp. 65-66.
- LEITNER, G. W., LL.D.—*A Detailed Analysis of Abdul Ghafur's Dictionary of the Terms used by Criminal Tribes in the Punjab.* Lahore: Printed at the Punjab Government Civil Secretariat Press, 1880. This "Analysis" contains all, and corrects almost all, the words and sentences in Abdul Ghafur's so-called Dictionary.
- LEITNER, G. W., LL.D.—*A Sketch of the Changars and of their Dialect.* Lahore: Printed at the Punjab Government Civil Secretariat Press, 1880.
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- TEMPLE, [SIR] R. C.—*An Examination of the Trade Dialect of the Nagqāsh or Painters on Papier-mache in the Punjab and Kashmir.* *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. llii. Part i. 1884, pp. I and II.
- TEMPLE, [SIR] R. C.—*The Delhi Dalals and their Slang.* *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. xiv, 1885, pp. 155 and ff.
- BAILEY, REV. T. GRAHAM, D.D.—*Notes on Punjabi Dialects.* Contains I. Notes on the Sāst Dialect, pp. 3 and ff.; II. The Secret Words of the Qāshis, pp. 9 and f.; III. The Argot of Panjābi Gamblers, pp. 11 and f.; IV. The Dialect of the Cāhrās, pp. 13 and ff. Privately printed. No date or place of publication.
- (KENNEDY, M.)—*Notes on Criminal Classes in the Bombay Presidency with Appendices regarding some Foreign Criminals who occasionally visit the Presidency including Hints on the Detection of Counterfeit Coin.* Bombay, 1908.

The various Gipsy tribes have not been distinguished in the language returns of the published Reports of the last Census of 1911. It is therefore difficult to compare the figures with the estimates made for the purposes of this Survey. The total returned under the head of Gipsy languages in 1911 was 28,294 distributed as follows:—

Ajmer-Merwata	200
Bombay	8,362
Central Provinces and Berar	2,274
Punjab	5,640
United Provinces	1,673
Baroda State	536
Bombay States	2,326
Central India Agency	1,097
Hyderabad State	4,566
Punjab States	474
Rajputana Agency	436
Other Provinces	681
TOTAL	28,294

The Gipsy dialects considered in the ensuing pages can be divided into two groups, ordinary dialects and argots. The former group comprises Beldāri, Bhamṭi, Lāḍi, Ōḍki and Pendhāri, the latter Dōm, Gārōḍi, Gulguliā, Kanjari, Kōlḥāṭi, Malār, Myānwālā, Naṭi, Qasāi, Sāsī and Sikalgāri. The former group is of the same character as the Gipsy languages described under the head of Bhili in Vol. IX, Part iii, the latter can be compared with argots such as those used by the Panjab gamblers, the Chūhṛās, etc. See Authorities, above.

Within the first of our two groups the Pendhāris in some respects occupy a position apart, being composed of various elements without any common race or religion. Their dialect shows that they have lived for some time in Eastern Rajputana, and history corroborates this inference. Both the Pendhāris and some of the Bhamṭās speak dialects which can be described as a mixture of Dakṣiṇī Hindostānī and Jaipuri. Most Bhamṭās, however, speak Telugu. Lāḍi is in all essentials a form of Jaipuri. The Ōḍs are probably related to the Vādars, who speak a dialect of Telugu, and they are probably originally Dravidians. Their dialect, however, points towards Malwa or perhaps farther west. The Beldārs are described as a Dravidian caste. They usually state that they are Rājputās, and Dr. Crooke thinks that they are related to the Ōḍs. The traditions and dialects of all these tribes point to the conclusion that they belong to the same stock as the Banjārās, Habṛās, and other tribes who now use a form of Bhili. The traditions of both Banjārās and Habṛās point towards Rajputana. Ethnologists are, however, agreed that all these tribes are originally Dravidian, i.e. belong to the so-called Dravidian race. Their original home has perhaps been situated farther south. They have, however, become Aryanized at a comparatively early date, and philological considerations point to the conclusion that this occurred somewhere in Rajputana. Dr. Crooke is of opinion that these tribes are branches of one great nomadic race, which also comprises tribes such as the Sāsīs, Kanjars, Naṭs, and so on, i.e. such Indian Gipsies as possess an argot. Also here we find traditions which point towards Rajputana. Thus the Sāsīs were, according to one tradition, originally bards with the Chauhān Rājputās. Their first ancestor was, they say, Sās Māl, and his brother Mallanār was again the ancestor of the Kōlḥāṭīs, who seem to be very closely connected with the Sāsīs. They are also related to the Kanjars, whose traditions only point towards the jungle, and the Naṭs, who sometimes, likewise, maintain that they have come from Rajputana. The Sikalgārs of Benares assert that they were originally Rājputās from Marwar. The Dōms are, according to their traditions, Nishāḍas, and their first ancestor is said to have sprung from the thigh of King Vana. Now Bēnbans is the name of a modern Rājput sept, which, according to Dr. Crooke, is of obvious Kherwar origin, and the country of the Nishāḍas is stated in the Mahābhārata (iii, 10538) to begin where the Sarasvatī disappears in the sands. The Nishāḍas were, according to the Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa, forest robbers, and Mahādihara identifies them with the Bhiliās. In the Agnipurāṇa they are mentioned together with "other dwellers in the Vindhya." It will be seen that these traditions point towards Rajputana or Central India. It will now be of interest to see how far an examination of the dialects spoken by these tribes, i.e. of the dialects on which their argots are based, corroborates these indications. We cannot of course expect to find anything more than indications. The tribes in question are migratory, and, if they spend a long time in any district, they are likely to adopt its current vernacular.

If we begin with Sāsī, it will be shown later on that the dialect varies according to the locality in which it is spoken, it being Hindōstānī in the East and a mixture of Hindōstānī and Pañjābī in the Northern Panjab, the stronghold of the tribe. Stray features such as the softening of hard mutes in the dative and genitive suffixes *gu*, *gā* and in words such as *dand*, tooth, are such as are also found in Western Pahārī.¹ The same is the case with the oblique base ending in *ā* in weak bases, just as in Marāṭhī. Forms such as the ablative suffix *thō*; the pronouns *ham*, we; *tam*, you, remind us of Gujarātī, but also of Western Pahārī. The dialect of the Sāsīs is closely related to Kōlhātī. The termination *ō* of oblique bases, which is well known from Gujarātī and Western Pahārī, is here common. Forms such as *mērē-ku*, to me, remind us of Dakhinī Hindōstānī, while the use of the relative base *ja* with the meaning of a demonstrative in forms such as *jabō*, then, is in accordance with the practice in Rājasthānī dialects.

If we now turn to Kanjari, we again find that the oblique base of weak nouns ends in *ā* or in *ō*, as in Western Pahārī. Strong masculine bases often end in *ō*, plural *ā*, as in Rājasthānī. Demonstrative pronouns such as *jō*, *jī*, that, are also in accordance with the usage in that language. Pronouns such as *urō*, he; *yō*, you; verbal suffixes such as *ir*, *gir*, in the present and past; the frequent use of relative participles; the tendency to form a negative verb, and so forth, perhaps point to the existence of a Dravidian element in the dialect. Kanjari is a comparatively consistent form of speech and seems to possess less local varieties than many other Gipsy tongues. The Kanjars are ethnographically related to the Sāsīs and Kōlhātīs, and also to the Habūras. Just as the latter speak Gujarātī Bhīlī in the Gangetic Doab, the language of the Kanjars reminds us of Gujarātī, Rājasthānī, and Pahārī even in districts where these languages are not home tongues. The Magahiya Dōms of Saran and Champaran speak the current Bhōjpuri of the districts. There is, however, also a tissue of Rājasthānī, and the argot of the Dōms in so many points agrees with that in use among the Kanjars that it is impossible to separate the two. Naṭī also has some features which seem to point towards Rājasthānī, though the dialect underlying the argot of the Naṭs varies very much according to district. Gārōḍī is a mixture of Hindōstānī, Eastern Rājasthānī and Marāṭhī, and a similar position must be assigned to the so-called Myānwālē, while Qasāī is based on Hindōstānī, Sikalgāri on Gujarātī, and Malār on Nāgpuriā. Gulguliā, finally, is too insufficiently known to allow us to say anything definite about its position.

There are accordingly also some philological reasons for supposing a common origin of many of the Gipsy tribes. It will be remembered that they are described as belonging to the Dravidian race and that some of them use Dravidian forms of speech. Most of them, however, so far as they come within the scope of this Survey, speak Aryan tongues. If they are of Dravidian stock, that must be a secondary development. Their original language cannot have been Aryan. Now the existence of a Rājasthānī element in so many Gipsy dialects may be taken as an indication that they have abandoned their old speech and adopted an Aryan tongue within an area where Rājasthānī was spoken. It is a curious coincidence that the stronghold of the Bhīls, who must have a similar origin, is found between the territories occupied by

¹ Pahārī is closely related to Rājasthānī. See Vol. IX, Pt. iv, pp. 255, 1035.

Rājasthānī, Gujarātī and Marāṭhī. Like many Gipsy languages some Bhil dialects also have weak nouns with an oblique base ending in *ā*. In Gipsy, and in Pahārī, this *ā* is interchangeable with *ō*, which is common in Gujarātī. The theory might be hazarded that this use of an oblique base, of the kind elsewhere found in Marāṭhī, in all these tongues must be due to the existence of a substratum different from Rājasthānī and connected with Marāṭhī. There are also other philological indications that the language of Rajasthan and parts of Central India has once, in the times preceding the Rājput invasion, been more closely connected with Old Marāṭhī.

The conclusion arrived at above that most of these Gipsy tribes have a common origin is further strengthened by a consideration of the artificial argots which some of them have developed. We here find so much correspondence in details that we cannot well refrain from inferring that there is some connexion between these Indian argots. All of them are artificial languages devised for the purpose of enabling those who know them to converse with each other without the risk of being understood by outsiders. Such methods of speaking are in use all over the world, and they are known under different names in the different countries. In England they are called 'cant,' 'slang,' 'thieves' latin,' 'pedlars' French,' 'Saint Giles Greek,' 'flash tongue,' 'gibberish,' and so on, in France 'argot,' in Germany 'Rotwälsch,' in Italy 'gergo,' 'furbesco,' in Spain 'germania,' and so on. Common to all of them is the extensive use of a peculiar vocabulary, and, in addition to this, the practice of disguising common words by means of transpositions and changes of letters. The vocabulary has usually been fetched from the most different sources, or else various figures of speech or associations of ideas lead to the use of well-known words with new meanings. Thus we find in the Spanish argot *Germania galle*, priest, taken from the Hebrew; *dupa*, ignorant, from the French; *londilla*, which is derived from *lon*, salt, and properly signifies a saltcellar, is used with the meaning of 'parlour,' because Spanish *sala*, parlour, suggests *sal*, salt, and so forth. Examples of transpositions from the same argot are *tiscar* for *viata*, view; *greno* for *negro*, a nigger. Changes of letters are also quite common; compare Rotwälsch *witze* instead of *hitze*, heat. In the Pyrenees we find a device of the same character as the so-called *p-language*. Thus, instead of *jauno*, sir, they may say *jan-pan-na-po* or *jan-gau-na-gra*. This of course is a very common way of producing an argot all over the world. Le Duchat tells us of the existence of a similar slang amongst the children of Metz, who add *dregue* to each syllable; thus *vousdregue esdregue undregue foudregue*, vous êtes un fou, you are a fool. Still more like our *p-language* is the Indian schoolboys' *Zargari*, where the letter *z* followed by a vowel is added to each syllable; thus *tu-zum kahā jazātizā hūzō* for *tum kahā jātē hō*, where are you going? Dr. Leitner found this *Zargari* in use amongst the thieves of Peshawar, where he heard sentences such as *u-zu-s-ku-zo bu-zu-l-le-zā* for *u-kō bulā*, call him. A similar *s-language* is recorded from Bengal, where we find sentences such as *ami bosboi desdi-bosbo* for *ami bai dibo*, I will give a book. Sometimes we can observe how similar word-plays take their origin in some new fashion. A certain class of society affects a peculiar way of pronouncing or transforming words, and the compliance with such whims becomes a kind of freemason's token, by which one shows himself as a member of fashionable society. Thus it was usual within certain circles in Paris, about 1830,

to add *mar* to every word, and to speak of *boulangermar* instead of *boulangier*, a baker; *cafémar* instead of *café*, coffee. That such a way of changing common words well deserves to be called an argot, is brought out by a comparison of the cant of the Yūsufzai badmāshes mentioned by Dr. Leitner,¹ where *miri* is added to every word.

The argots are chiefly used by criminals and disreputable individuals for the sake of secrecy. Their nature is, however, quite the same as that of the various kinds of play languages which we are accustomed to consider as desultory results of children's fancy. All such speeches must be compared, and it is of interest to observe how the methods are the same all over the world, just as a comparison of languages belonging to different linguistic families discloses a high degree of similarity in fundamental principles.

In India there have probably been argots from the most ancient times. It is possible that they have to some extent their origin in sacrificial rites. It would often be necessary to veil the

Indian Argots.

actual meaning of a ceremony in order to prevent rivals and enemies from perverting it by means of sorcery and counter-rites. The curious words *ayāra*, dark fortnight; *yavan*, bright fortnight; *sabda*, day; *sagarā*, night; *yanya*, month; *sumēka*, year (*Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* i. 7.2.25ff.) seem to belong to such a sacrificial argot. The transmutations and changes of words which are sometimes prescribed in the old Sātras, are perhaps of a similar kind, though the desire to avoid unlucky words also plays a rôle. The Indians, with their predilection for word-play and enigmatic language, must always have been especially qualified for devising means for disguising the meaning of their speech. An old example is found in the Mahābhārata (I. 5754ff.), where Vidura is represented as warning Yudhishtira, in the presence of a number of people, of impending treachery, in a jargon which only the speaker and his hearer could understand.²

There are, at the present day, many different argots in India. Captain, now Sir, R. C. Temple has explained the argot used by the Delhi Dalāls, or Brokers. This is a kind of speech which apparently has a very simple meaning, while some of the words used impart a second, hidden sense to those who are initiated. Thus an apparently innocent use of the numeral two or of words denoting such parts of the body as occur in pairs, conveys the meaning that the Dalāl claims a commission of two annas in the Rupee. Most Indian argots, and all those which are represented in the materials collected for the purposes of this Survey, are, however, of a different kind. They are artificial tongues which do not convey one meaning to the initiated ones and another to outsiders, but which are simply unintelligible to those who have not learnt them. This aim is attained by various means. There is, in the first place, a certain amount of peculiar words which are not used in ordinary speech. Such slang terms are apparently widely used, even by such tribes as have not developed a proper argot. Thus many of the criminal tribes of the Bombay Presidency have got them. Our information on the subject is, however, very imperfect, and it is, in most cases, impossible to state whence they have been taken. It is, on the other hand, noticeable how many of them are identical

¹ *Linguistic Fragments*, p. (xxv).

² The commentator Nilakṣṭha says that this jargon made use of the language of outcasts (*śūdrakṣhar*), which resembled the language of the country, but was ungrammatical and contained words in which syllables were omitted, added, or altered. He then gives examples.

in different argots. Thus the word *lug*, to die, is used in Sāsī, Kōlhāṭī, Kanjari, Dōm, Naṭī, Gārōḍī, Myānwālā, Gulgulīā, and Sikalgāri; *dūt*, eat, occurs in the specimens of Sāsī, Kōlhāṭī, Kanjari, Naṭī, Myānwālā, and Sikalgāri; *khum*, mouth, in Sāsī, Kōlhāṭī, Naṭī, and Gārōḍī; *khaul*, *khaulā*, house, in Sāsī, Dōm, Naṭī, and Sikalgāri, and so forth. Such instances add strength to the conclusion arrived at above that there is a common base in many of these forms of speech. Even if we were able to trace each of these words back to its source, this would not prove anything in regard to the nature of this base. We have seen above how the peculiar words of European argots have been collected from the most different sources. The same is most certainly the case in India. We cannot therefore infer that the Kanjars of Belgaum or the Qasāis are of Arabic descent, because they use some Arabic numerals, or that the Sāsīs have anything to do with the Tibetans even if *bārmī*, wife, could be proved to be identical with Sherpa *permi*, or *chaṭī*, water, with Tibetan *chhu*. The great number of Hebrew words in Rotwalsch warns us to be cautious in such matters. Still, considering the fact that ethnologists describe the most important Gipsy tribes as Dravidian, it is perhaps of some significance that several of the peculiar argot words seem to have a Dravidian origin. Thus we might compare Kanjari *ṭu-khulē*, belly, with Kurukh *kāl*; Sāsī *lōnā*, to beat, with Kurukh *lan'ā*; Myānwālā *gēlō*, boy, son, with Yerukala *gōvāḷyū*; Kanjari and Sikalgāri *pādō*, bull, with Tamil *māḍu*; Dōm *ṭignā*, eat, with Tamil *ṭimnu*; Sāsī *pāngī*, fire, with Kanarese *benki*; Dōm *kichwā*, fire, with Kurukh *chich*; Kanjari *tīl*, *tiūr*, give, with Tamil *tara*, Savara *tiā*; Kanjari *kidō*, give, with Yerukala *kūḍ*; Myānwālā *hiṭwād* (compare Giripārī Sirmauri *hōḥ*), go, and *baricād*, come, with Kanarese *hō*, go, Tamil *vata*, come, respectively; Sāsī *baunnā*, Kōlhāṭī *bōnā*, Naṭī *būnā*, Myānwālā *bōnō*, gold, with Tamil *pon*; Sāsī *kūdrā*, horse, with Tamil *kudirei*; Sāsī *khaulā*, Naṭī *kōllā*, Sikalgāri *kōl*, Malār *khaul*, house, with Gōlari *kōll*, room, Malayālam *kuḍi*, house; compare Malār *khusā*, husband, and Yerukala *khulīn*, wife, the last syllable of which latter word should be compared with *si* in *taṅgī*, sister; Sāsī *ṭūṇḍā*, Kōlhāṭī *taṇḍe*, Naṭī *ṭuṇḍā*, pig, with Tamil *payri*; Sāsī *binknā*, run, with Kurukh *boṅgā*; Kanjari, Sikalgāri *khēḍō*, Qasāi *khēḍā*, Kōlhāṭī *chēḍā*, house, with Kanarese *khēḍā*; Kōlhāṭī *hēṭṭi*, wife, with Kanarese *heṇḍati*, and so forth. I feel no doubt that we should be able to compare many more words, if we had a fuller knowledge of the argots. In face of the fact that comparatively many of these parallels have been taken from Kurukh, it is perhaps worth while recalling the Kurukh tradition that they have come from the Karnatic and proceeded eastwards along the Narbada, i.e. past the Vindhya. It may also be of interest in this place to make a note of some few details which will be mentioned below when dealing with the individual argots, such as the interchange between hard and soft sounds in Sāsī, Kōlhāṭī, Naṭī, etc., the disaspiration of aspirates and aspiration of unaspirated sounds in several argots; the frequent use of relative participles, of a negative verb, of certain pronouns and suffixes, and so on, in Kanjari; the employment of *karkē*, having done, or similar forms with the meaning of Tamil *enru*, Yerukala *ṣṇḍa*, Sanskrit *iti*, etc., after a direct quotation, and so forth, though many of these features are also found in Pahārī and elsewhere.

Most words in the Indian argots are not, however, so far as we are able to judge with our present imperfect knowledge, peculiar to them, but belong to the common Aryan vocabulary of India. They are then adapted for use by various means of

disguise, just as is the case in European argots. It is noticeable that the transposition of letters after the pattern of the English cant word *icelap*, police, plays a comparatively unimportant rôle in the materials at my disposal. I may note instances such as *Sāsī kābrā=bakrā*, goat; *chāmī=mōchi*, shoe-maker; *lēp=pēt*, belly; *Gārōdi dabō=badō*, big, and so forth. More common are changes by means of prefixed or suffixed syllables, which then often replace the beginning or the end, respectively, of the word. The details will be mentioned under each argot. In this place I shall only make some general remarks. The simplest way of disguising a word by means of a prefix is exactly the counterpart of the practice in the *p*-language and Zargari. Thus in *Sāsī kha-kāl*, famine; *ḍha-gal*, neck, the syllables *kha*, *ḍha*, respectively, have simply been prefixed to the ordinary word. It is, however, still more common to drop the old initial in such cases; thus, *Sāsī khas=das*, ten; *jhūkhā=bhūkhā*, hungry. In some forms of Naṭī we find the initial added again at the end, thus, *mēt-khā=khēt*, field. In Malār *chahinbahin=bahin*, sister, we see the entire word in its original form added to the disguised word. These two last devices are of course more easily discovered, and they do not seem to be of common occurrence. With regard to prefixes I would add that we can, in a few cases, trace the existence of rules or rather tendencies which pervade all the argots. Thus *k* and *kh* are most commonly prefixed to words beginning with vowels; the palatals *ch*, *chh*, *j* and *jh* are almost exclusively used with such words as begin with labials; *nh* is a substitute for aspirated letters and also for *s*; and *r* is mostly used before or instead of gutturals. The fact that such is the practice in all our argots is a further indication that they have a common base.

The most usual state of affairs with regard to disguising suffixes is illustrated by words such as *Sāsī kauhgā=kahā*, said, where a single consonant is added. Words such as *Sāsī, Kolhāṭī bāp-tā*, father, where a consonant followed by a vowel has been added, are of a similar kind. There are, however, also more complex additions, somewhat like the Parisian *cafemar=café*. The most common are additions after verbs, such as *sar* in *Sāsī, Kolhāṭī, Naṭī ā-sar*, come, and *uar, wār, bār*, in numerous Kanjarī, Dōm, Qasāī, Malār and Myānwālē verbs, and so forth. We can also here notice how the same additions are used in the same way in more than one argot. Thus *k* or *g* is common after verbs ending in vowels or in *h* in *Sāsī, Kolhāṭī, Kanjarī, Naṭī, Myānwālē*, and so on; additions containing an *r* are, as already remarked, common in verbs in many argots; additions such as *Dōm khailā, Śikalgārī khalā, Kanjarū ḍlō, Myānwālē ḍlū, Malār lū*, are clearly connected with each other. On the whole it seems certain that not only are the general principles the same in the different argots, but that their application in many cases follows identical lines in all of them.

If we take a general view of all the facts, we will

Conclusions.

see that :—

1. the most important Gipsy tribes are classed by ethnologists as forming one race, of Dravidian features, which seem to have long led a migratory life, roaming over most of India;
2. many of them have traditions tracing their origin back to the Rājputs;
3. their dialects also point to the conclusion that the tribes have lived amongst people speaking Rājasthānī dialects, though—

4. some philological features show that there is a sub-structure of languages more related to Marāṭhi than to Rājasthānī ;
5. many of these tribes have developed a secret language based on their dialects ;
6. these argots contain several peculiar words which are common to many of them ;
7. the principles underlying the formation of these cant languages and also their application in individual cases present striking points of analogy in the different tribes ;
8. a certain number of the peculiar cant words seem to be Dravidian ; and
9. some Gipsy tribes speak Dravidian languages.

Taken together, all these points make it highly probable that the various Gipsy languages dealt with in the ensuing pages have a common origin, a language which was once spoken by a tribe of Dravidian race that came under the influence of Aryan tongues in a locality where languages akin to Marāṭhi had been spoken but had to give way to Rājasthānī. This would take us to the Vindhya and the country to the north of the Vindhya, i.e. to the territories which the Aryans found occupied by Nishādas. The tribe or tribes in question have probably lived as vagrants from the most ancient times. With the growth of Aryan civilisation they would naturally choose as their stronghold localities where Aryan civilisation had not got a firm footing. The many Bhil dialects spoken in the hills from the Vindhya and northwards probably have a similar origin and might well be the tongues of descendants of such migratory tribes who had taken to a settled mode of life. Such questions should, however, for the time being be left to the consideration of ethnologists. It may, in this connexion, be noted that we find Gipsy tribes and also Bhils who, at the present day, still speak Dravidian tongues.

It has been remarked above that the denomination Gipsy does not imply any connexion with the Gipsies or Romany Chals of Europe. These latter have originally come from India, and it is well known how they resemble the Indian Gipsies in appearance and habits. It has also been pointed out that their language shows many points of correspondence with the dialect of Indian Gipsy tribes such as the Doms. In this connexion it is worth while noting the similarity between European Gipsy words such as *gājō*, a gentile, *jukel*, dog, and *Sāsi kajjā*, Nati *kājā*, man ; Kanjari *jhūkil*, Myānwālē *jukēlā*, *Sāsi chhūkal*, *bhūkal*, Kōlhāṭī *dhokkal*, dog. The language of the gipsies of Europe, however, points towards the extreme North-West of India, and the prevailing opinion amongst scholars seems to be that they have nothing to do with the Indian tribes whose dialects are here under consideration. The hypothesis might, however, be hazarded that members of the same vagrant race from which the Indian Gipsy tribes are descended came up to the North-West, and remained there long enough to adapt their language to the practice prevailing among frontier tribes. Some of them passed on before this adaptation took place and became the ancestors of the Armenian gipsies, whose language does not point to the north-western frontier but rather to Hindostān. The bulk of these Gipsies later on brought their language, as modified among frontier tribes, to Europe, and became the ancestors of the Romany Chals.

PENDHĀRĪ.

Under the name of 'Pindarees' the Pendhāris are well known in Indian history. They were plundering bands of freebooters who first came to notice after the fall of Tippoo Sultan of Mysore. Of no common race, and of no common religion, they welcomed to their ranks the outlaws and broken men of all India—Afghāns, Marāṭhās, or Jāts. They represented the debris of the Mughul empire, which had not been incorporated by any of the local Muhammadan or Hindū powers that sprang up out of its ruins. Their head-quarters were in Malwa, but their depredations were not confined to Central India. In bands, sometimes of a few hundreds, sometimes of many thousands, they rode out on their forays as far as the opposite coasts of Madras and of Bombay. The most powerful of the Pendhāri captains, Amīr Khān, had an organised army of many regiments, and several batteries of cannon. Their power was finally broken by the Marquis of Hastings in 1817.

Their name is said to be derived from *pēṇḍhā*, a sheaf, and probably meant originally 'grasscutters.'

At the Census of 1911 the number of Pendhāris was returned as 6,413, 100 of whom were Hindūs and 6,313 Musalmāns.

They were distributed as follows:—

Central India Agency	4,014
Elsewhere	2,399
TOTAL	6,413

The only district which returned Pendhāri as a separate language for this Survey was Dharwar of Bombay, which gave a total of 1,250 speakers. Specimens have, however, also been received from Belgaum (Bombay). In other districts Pendhāri has probably been included under the head of Hindōstānī. It is used only as a home language by the tribe which speaks it. In their intercourse with other people, its speakers employ ordinary Hindōstānī.

To judge from the specimens Pendhāri is a mixture of rough Dakhinī Hindōstānī with Marāṭhī and Rājasthānī. The particular dialect of the last mentioned language with which their Hindōstānī is mixed, seems to be Jaipuri. Compare *pūtā*, sons; *bāpā*, father; *chhē*, is; *chhā*, was. It is not necessary to discuss this jargon at length. I give two short specimens, one from each district. They both agree in all essential points. Note the use of *uē* as a postposition of the locative, present forms such as *uttarūnu*, I descend; *mārūnu*, I beat, where the final *nu* reminds us of the Dravidian termination of verbs, and the way in which *kar-kē*, having done, is used at the end of a quotation, like the Sanskrit *iti* and the Dravidian *andu*, having said.

[No. I.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

PENÐHARI.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT DHAEWAR.

Kisī ēk admī-kū dō pātā ohhē. Us-nē-si nhānā pāt āpnē
Some one man-to two sons were. Them-in-from younger son own
 bāp-kū bōlā, 'bāp, mērē hissē-kū āwattō māl-kā bātā mijē dē.'
father-to said, 'father, my share-to coming property-of share to-me give.'
 Unē āpnī jindgī un-kū bāt-diyā. Thōdē dīn-kē picchē
By-him own property them-to was-divided. Few days-of after
 nhānā sab milā-kē ēk dūr mulak-kū rasta liyā.
by-younger all having-gathered one distant country-to way was-taken.
 Whā unē dhundpanē-sē āpnā māl kharāh-kar-diyā. Sab
There by-him luxuriousness-with own property spoiled-was-made. All
 gamā-lō-kē angē ō mulak-nē ēk badā dukāl paḍā. Bhī unē
spent-having then that country-in one big famine fell. And by-him
 garībī-nē rah-gayā. Unē ō mulak-kē ēk admī-kē pās
poverty-in it-was-lived. By-him that country-of one man-of near
 jā-kar un-kū mil-kē rah-gayā. Unē isē suwrā
gone-having him-to joined-having it-was-lived. By-him him swine
 charānē-kū āpnē khētān-nē bhēj-diyā. Ō suwrā khānē-kā bhūṣē-si
feeding-for own fields-into it-was-sent. He swine eating-of husks-from
 āpnā pēt bharnē-kī khuṣī chhī, tab ō-bī usē kōyī
own belly filling-of happiness was, then that-even to-him by-anyone
 diyē nāi. Unē huṣār hō-kē, 'mērē bāp-kē ketlā
was-given not. By-him sensible become-having, 'my father-of how-many
 majūrdāran-kū āpnē-kū bas hō-kē jāsti rahē ottē
servants-to themselves-for sufficient become-having more remained so-much
 rōtyā rahwē-chhē. Huwā-tō-bī mai bhūk-sē marū. Mai
bread remained. Still I hunger-from die. I
 nikāl-kē bāp-kē taraf jā-kē usē kahūgā, "arē bāp,
gone-out-having father-of direction gone-having to-him will-say, "O father,
 mai tērē sāmnē bhī Allā-kē uppar gunhā karā. Is-kē angē
by-me of-thee before and God-of against sin was-done. This-of after
 tērā pūt kawā-lēnē-kū mai lāyakhī nāi. Tērē majūri-kē jāwānan-nē ēk
thy son being-called-for I worthy not. Thy hire-of servants-in one

kar-kē mijē bī rakh," kar-kē bōlū,' kar-kē bōl-liyā.
made-having me also keep," said-having may-say,' said-having it-was-said.

Uth-kē āpnē bāp-kanē āyā. Chhētō unē abī rastā lhai
Arisen-having own father-near came. But for-him still way much
 dūr chhī-tō us-kā bāp usē dēkh-kē mehar lakā-kē
far was-then his father him seen-having mercy applied-having

nhāt-kē jā-kē galē mil-kē usē mukkā diyā.
run-having gone-having neck embraced-having to-him kiss was-given.

Pūt usē, 'bāp Allā-kē uppar bhī tērā ākhā-kē sāmne mai gunhā
Son to-him, 'father God-of against and thy eyes-of before by-me sin

karā. Ab aṅgē kadī-bī mai tērā pūt kawā-liyē sarikā nāi.'
was-done. Now after ever-even I thy son calling-for fit not,'

kar-kē bōlā. Chhētō-bī bāp-nē āpnē naukār-lōkā-kū, 'lhai chōkōt
said-having said. Yet father-by own servants-to, 'very good

jhagē-kū bhār lakā-kē usē pirā bhī us-kē hāt-kū aṅgūṭī
coat out brought-having him dress and his hand-to ring

bhā-kē pāw-kū pāpsā dēō. Bhī haman khā-kē khuṣī-sē
put-having feet-on shoes give. And we eaten-having happily

rhaī. Kāy-kayē-tō ē mērā pūt mar-gayā chhā-tō, phir-kē
should-stay. Why-said-then this my son dead-gone was, again

jīta huwā; gayā-chhā-tō, phir-kē millā,' kar-kē bōlā. Bhī
alive became; gone-was, again was-found,' said-having it-was-said. And

unan khuṣī kar-nē lagē.
they merry to-make began.

[No. 2.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

PENJHARI.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Dhūp kāl-nē ak kōlā bahut pyās lāg-kē jāngal-nē phir-kē
Heat time-at one fox much thirst felt-being wood-in rambling
Heat time-at one fox much thirst felt-being wood-in rambling
 pāṇi dhuṇḍā, lēkin kā-bī naī milā. Pichhē-sī dōngā
water searched, but anywhere not it-was-found. At-last deep
 thaddē-nē thōḍā pāṇi khād-rākē dēkh-kē agāḍi-kā dhyān naī
pit-in a-little water standing seen-having future-of thought not
 kar-kē us-kē bich-nē kudā. Whā khūb pāṇi
made-having it-of the-midst-in he-jumped. There much water
 pī-kē phir-kē uppar anē-kū wāstē chintā karā.
drunk-having again up coming-for far-the-sake thinking was-made.
 Use rastā-ch naī chhī, o-sabab whā-ch tatt-kē
To-that way not was, (for-)that-reason there-indeed being-in-a-fir
 khād-rā-kē lhai phikīr karā. Ottē-nē-ch ek tagar wō-ch
standing much anxiety was-made. That-much-in one goat that-very
 rāstē-sī pyās lāg-kē ā-kē khādē-nē kōlē-kū dēkhā. Tab
road-from thirst felt-being coming pit-in fox it-was-seen. Then
 o tagar, 'hō kōlā bā, tū lai sūnā, hamān sab pyās
that goat, 'O fox father, thou much clever, we all thirst
 lāg-kē marān; kisē naī mālum kar-kē tū ēklā-ch
felt-being die; to-anybody not known made-having thou alone-quite
 ā-kē pāṇi pīnū; achchhā, rhan-dē, māī bī tallē utarānū;
coming water drinkest; well, be-let, I too down descend;
 pāṇi kāī chhē? kar-kē pūchhā. Use kōlā, 'dōs, kettā
water how is? saying asked. To-that fox, 'friend, how-much
 mittā kar-kē bōlā? E pāṇi agāḍi amīr sarkā chhē.
sweet saying may-I-say? This water quite nectar like is.
 Tū āyā, bahut chakōṭ huwā; jaldī ā-kē pāṇi pī. bhi
Thou camest, much good became; quickly coming water drink, and
 kōṇ-tō-bī āy-tō tujē milnē-kē naī, kar-kē bōlā. E
anyone-else comes-if to-thee getting-of not, saying said. This
 phasānē-ki bāt sun-kō wō diwānā tagar tallē kudī-mār-kē
cunning-of word heard-having that silly goat down jumped-having

awal pēt bhar-kē pāṇi piyā. Pichhē-si uppar āṇē-kū
first belly filled-having water was-drunk. Afterwards up coming-for
 wāstē ō dōṇō mil-kē bahut wakat phikir karā.
in-order those both joined-having much time anxiety was-made.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

In summer, a fox being very thirsty and looking for water on all sides, rambled in the forest, but to no purpose. At last he found a little water in a deep pit and jumped into it not heeding the future consequence. There he drank water to his heart's content and began to meditate as to how he was to get out, but there was no way.

Therefore, there he was, a close prisoner, and fell to thinking. Meanwhile, a goat being thirsty, chanced to come down to the very pit by the same road and seeing a fox in it, said,—‘Oh, sir Fox, you are very clever indeed; we are all dying of thirst, while you drink water here, having come all alone without the knowledge of anybody. Very well, I too will come down; how is the water?’

Upon this the fox said,—‘Oh, friend, it is too sweet to describe. This water tastes just like nectar. You are welcome, come soon and drink it. If anybody else happen to come here, you may not get it.’

At this cunning advice, the silly goat jumped down and drank his fill. Then they both consulted for a long time how to effect their escape.

BHĀMTĪ.

The Bhāmtās are a criminal class who are especially active as railway thieves. It seems probable that their original home was the Telugu-speaking country. At the present day, however, settlements are to be found in several of the districts and native states in and bordering on the Bombay Presidency. At the Census of 1911, 4,270 Bhāmtās were returned from the Central Provinces and Berar and none from elsewhere.

They do not lead a gipsy life but settle in some village from which their gangs start on their thieving expeditions.

They are known under several different names such as *Ganṭhachōrs*, *Uchliās*, *Vaḍarts*, and so forth. The home tongue of most of them is *Vaḍarī*, a debased form of Telugu.¹ They also speak Marāṭhī, Hindōstānī, and Kanarese. In speaking Kanarese they drop their 'h's.' The home language of some of the *Ganṭhachōrs* of the Bījapur District is Kanarese. Those of Nagpur in the Central Provinces speak a broken mixture of Dakhinī Hindōstānī and Jaipur Rājasthānī. Only fourteen speakers of this Bhāmtī were reported from the Central Provinces. As the Bhāmtās of elsewhere speak Telugu, I do not further refer to them. It is hardly worth while giving examples of the others. As, however, some good specimens have been received, I give a portion of a version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, and a folktale received from Nagpur.

The fullest accounts of the Bhāmtās which I have seen are in pp. 464 and ff. of Part I of the *Poona Gazetteer*, in pp. 3 and ff. of *The History of Railway Thieves with Hints on Detection*, by M. Paupa Rao Naidu, Madras, 1900, and in pp. 16 and ff. of the *Notes on Criminal Classes in the Bombay Presidency*, by M. Kennedy, Bombay, 1908.

¹ See above, Vol. IV, pp. 605 ff.

[No. 3.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BHĀMTĪ.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT NAGPUR.

Koi-ék ādmī-kū dō pōryā chhē. Us-mā-kā nānā pōryā
A-certain man-to two sons were. Them-in-of the-younger son
 bābā-kū kahā-chhu, 'us-mē-kā mē-kō mērā hissā dē.' Phēr us-nē
the-father-to said, 'that-in-of me-to my share give.' Then him-by
 us-kō dāulat-kā hissā bāt-diyā-chhē. Phēr thōdē dīn hōyē-chhē
him-to the-property-of share was-divided. Then a-few days passed-had
 nānā pōryā sab jamā lē-kē dūr dēs gayā-chhē. Aur
the-younger son all estate taken-having far country went. And
 wahū jā-kē bēakkal-sē paisā khōyā-chhē. Phēr sab
there gone-having indiscriminately money he-squandered. And all
 kharch-nē-kō bād us dēs-mē badā kāl padā-chhē. Ibē
spending-of after that country-in great famine fell. Thereby
 us-kō bipat padī-chhē. Ibē o kāl us dēs-kō bhalē ādmī-kō
him-to want befell. Then he some that country-of a-good man-of
 jāurē rahā-chhē. Us-nē us-kō apnā kbāt-mē dukar charānē-kō
near remained. Him-by him-to his-own field-in swine feeding-for
 lagāyā-chhē. Ibē dukar-kā bhūsā khā-kē pēt bharan-kō
it-was-employed. Then the-swine-of husks eaten-having belly filling-of
 bichār kiya-chhē. Kōi-nē us-kō kāl-nā diyā-chhē.
thought made-was. Any-body-by him-to anything-not given-was.

[No. 4.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BHĀMTĪ.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT NAGPUR.

Ēk Birbal-kā betā chhā, ēk rājā-kā betā chhā. Un-kī baḍī
One Birbal-of son was, one king-of son was. Them-of great
 dōstī rahē. Dōī-kā dīl ēk chhā. Un-nē kahā kē,
friendship existed. Both-of mind one was. Them-by it-was-said that,
 'jis-kā bihāw pahilē hōgā un-nē apnī bāyko dusrē-kō ghar
'whose marriage first will-be him-by his-own wife other's house
 pathāw-nā.' Bādsāhā-kē betē-kā bihāw pahilē huā. Us-kī
is-to-be-sent.' The-king-of son-of marriage first became. His
 barāt baḍē dhūm-sū āi-chhē. Phir us-kū ēk bistar-par
marriage-procession great pomp-with came. Then him-to one bed-upon
 hō-kē dōst-kī yād āi-chhē. Phēr ō apnē mēhārū-kū
become-having friend-of recollection came. Then he his-own wife-to
 kahī-chhē kē, 'pahilē tū Birbal-kē yahā jā-kē āw; mērā
said that, 'first thou Birbal's here gone-having come; my
 kaul-bachan huā-chhē.' O phēr Birbal-kē yahā hāt-mō pachārtī
promise become-is.' She then Birbal's here the-hand-in five-lamps
 lē-kē gāi-chhē. Us-kū rastē-mā chār chōr milē-chhē. Us-kā
taken-having went. Her-to street-in four thieves met. Her
 sab ḍāginā utārē-rahē. Un-nē kahī kē, 'tū mērā
all ornaments taking-off-they-were. Her-by it-was-said that, 'thou my
 ḍāginā kā utārē-chhē? Mō-kō Birbal-kē hā-sō ā-jān-dē;
ornaments why art-taking-off? Me-to Birbal's here-from let-go-and-come;
 phir mērā sab ḍāginā utār-lē.' Chōr-nē kahīyā, 'yā hī
then my all ornaments take-off.' The-thieves-by it-was-said, 'she too
 bēs kaī-chhē.' Yēk chōr wathā baithā. Tin chōr gayē chōrī
well said.' One thief there sat. Three thieves went theft
 karan-kū. Phir yā gāi Birbal-kē yahā. Birbal-nē us-kō
committing-for. Then she went Birbal's here. Birbal-by her-as-to
 dēkhi-chhē. Palāng-par lathāi-chhē. Bāthā-kē apnē dīl-mō
she-was-seen. A-bed-on she-was-made-to-sit. Seated-having his-own the-mind-in
 sōch karā kē, 'badśāhā sāhnē-hī attēhī chhē aur gawār-hī
consideration was-made that, 'the-king wise-also that-much is and a-fool-also

uttehi chhē, kē apnī sēj-ki bāykō mērē yahā pathāi-chhē.
that-much is, because his-own bed-of wife my here sent-is.

Us-kō kahā, 'itnē din ō mērā bhāi rahā, ibbē tū
Her-to it-was-said, 'so-many days he my brother was, therefore thou
 bhān hui-chhē. Wō mērā bahinōi huwā. Wajir-nē
sister become-art. He my brother-in-law became. The-minister-by

us-kō lugdā āngī pahērā-chhē, aur achchhē bhāri pāch dāginē
her-to a-veil a-bodice was-put-on, and best valuable five ornaments
 diyē-chhē, kahā, 'bāi, tū jā.' Bāi rastē-sū chālī.
were-given, it-was-said, 'lady, thou go. The-lady the-street-by went.

Ek chōr rastā-mā bathā rahē. Us-kō bāi-nē kahī, 'mērē
One thief on-the-road seated was. Him-to the-lady-by it-was-said, 'my
 sab dāginē utār-lē. Mē-kō pāch dāginē jāstī milē-chhē.
all ornaments take-off. Me-to five ornaments more have-been-obtained.

Utti bāt-chūt hō-rahi-chhē tō tīn chōr āyē-chhē. Un-kō
That-much conversation going-on-was then the-three thieves came. Them-to
 aisi chōrī mili-chhē kō sāt pidhī khayē tō
such a-theft was-obtained that seven generations if-they-eat then
 sarē-nā. Chōr-nē kahā kē, 'terā pāyraw
it-could-be-exhausted-not. The-thieves-by it-was-said that, 'thy footfall

bēs lāgā. Ham-kū chōrī khub mili-chhē Tō ham-sū
good has-been-proved. Us-to theft great obtained-was. Therefore us-from
 pāch dāginē lē-lē.' Chōr-nē pāch dāginē diyē-chhē. Phir
five ornaments take. The-thieves-by five ornaments given-were. Then
 bādśāhā-kē jōrē ai-chhē. Bādśāhā-nē dil-mē sōsā kē, 'dil
the-king-of near she-came. The-king-by mind-in it-was-thought that, 'the-heart

chār-mā kis-kā badā chhē?
the-four-among whose great is?

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

There was once a Prime Minister named Birbal, who had a son. The king, his master, also had a son. These two were great friends, and had all their thoughts and wishes in common, so they agreed that whichever of the two was married first should send his wife to the other's house. The king's son was the one that was first married, and the bride came home to the palace with great pomp. When the prince came to bed with her, he remembered his friend, and said to her, 'You must first go to Birbal's house. I must keep my promise.' So she started off for Birbal's house, carrying in her hand the five lustration lamps of her wedding night.

On the way she met four thieves, who straightway began to relieve her of all ornaments. Said she, 'Why are you taking off my ornaments? Let me first go to Birbal's house, and afterwards come back to you. Then you can take them.' The thieves approved of this suggestion, and left one of their number sitting there, while the other three went off to look for more booty.

So she went on to Birbal's house. Birbal,¹ as soon as he saw her, made her to sit upon a bed, and thought in his mind, 'The king is partly wise, and partly a fool; for he has sent here, to me, the wife of his own son.' Then he said to her, 'For many days your husband has been my brother. Now I look upon you as my sister, and on him as my sister's husband.' Then he gave her a present of a handsome veil and a bodice, and of five valuable jewels, and told her to go home. So she went back by the way she had come, and found the thief sitting where she had left him.

'Now,' said she, 'take off all my ornaments. I have got five more than I had when you saw me last.' While they were talking the three other thieves came up. They had been so successful in their thefts that they had got booty sufficient to feed seven generations without being exhausted. They said, 'Your footsteps have brought us good luck. We have found enormous booty. So we will not take your ornaments. Please accept five more ornaments from us.' So they gave her five ornaments, and she returned to the king, and told him her adventures. The king wondered in his heart which among the four had shown the greatest nobility of character.

¹ The story is confused. It should be Birbal's son who acts as described. The king is also similarly confused with his son.

BĒLDĀRĪ.

Bēldār literally means one who works with the *bēl* or mattock. It is a general term for the aggregate of low Hindū tribes who make their living by earth work. The number of Bēldārs returned at the Census of 1911 was as follows :—

Bengal	9,294
Bihar and Orissa	88,912
Bombay	12,396
Central Provinces and Berar	25,616
United Provinces	39,035
Central India Agency	25,373
Elsewhere	3,787
Total	205,420

The majority of these Bēldārs probably speak the same dialect as their surroundings. According to Sir Herbert Risley the Bēldārs of Bihar and Western Bengal form a separate wandering caste of Dravidian origin. The same is perhaps also the case in some other districts. The word Bēldār is accordingly used in two different senses denoting sometimes a distinct caste, sometimes all low caste earth-workers. It is impossible to decide how many of the Bēldārs enumerated at the last Census in the various provinces belong to either group.

During the preliminary operations of this Survey a dialect called Bēldārī was returned from Rajputana, Berar and Bombay. The estimated numbers of speakers were as follows :—

Rajputana, Jaisalmir State	100
Berar—	
Amraoti	800
Ellichpur	500
Buldana	585
	1,885
Bombay Presidency—	
Thana	2,500
Satara	330
Satara Agency, State Aundh	15
" " State Phaltan	40
Kolhapur State	50
Southern Maratha Jaghirs	200
	3,135
Total	5,140

The returns of the last Census do not furnish us with materials for checking these figures.

Specimens of the so-called Bēldārī have been received from Ellichpur and Buldana, from the Jaisalmir State, and from the Ramdurg State. Though the dialect differs in the different districts, being more or less influenced by the prevailing

languages, there are some characteristic features which recur everywhere, and it is accordingly possible to speak of a separate dialect. Bēldārī is not, however, a fixed form of speech with consistent features. Like Ōḍkī it is a mixture. The prevailing elements are Marāṭhī and Eastern Rājasthānī. To the former language belongs forms such as the plurals *bēḷē*, sons (Ramdurg); *nāḍē*, tanks (Jaisalmir); *deḷā*, to a father (Buldana); *maṇṣān*, to a man (Ramdurg); *danāt*, in days (Ramdurg); the oblique bases in *ā* of weak nouns such as *dishā-sē*, from a direction (Jaisalmir); *utḥāḍ-panā-sē*, in riotousness (Ellichpur); the genitive termination *chā* in the Jaisalmir and Ramdurg specimens, the common termination *lā* of the past tense, and so forth. Rājasthānī elements are forms of strong bases such as *pōryā*, sons; *chhōṭō*, small (Ellichpur); *ghōṛō*, horse (Jaisalmir) (but also *kuttā*, dog; compare also *ghōṛē*, horses; *ghōṛiyā*, mares); the dative suffixes *-ā* (Amraoti, Ramdurg, Jaisalmir); *-ā*, *-ā* (Jaisalmir); *-ā* (Buldana) and *-ku* (Ellichpur); compare Mālvi *-ā*, *-ā*, *-ā*; the genitive suffix *-hō*, *-kā*, *-kī* (Ellichpur, Buldana); compare Mēwātī, Jaipurī and Mālvi *-hō*, *-kī*; the ablative suffixes *-sē* and *-sū*; compare Mālvi *-sē*, *-sū*; the past tense in *yō*, *ō*, which is used side by side with forms in *-lā*; forms such as *marā*, I die; *kahā*, I may say (Ellichpur); *marē-hā*, I am dying (Jaisalmir); *kahā*, I shall say (Buldana) and so forth.

It would also be possible to compare some of the *l*-forms of the past with Oriyā, and the common *mōr*, *mōra*, my, mine, seems connected with forms in Eastern languages. It is accordingly likely that there is also an admixture of Eastern vernaculars. The chief components of Bēldārī are, however, of the same kind as in Ōḍkī. With that form of speech there are also other points of agreement; thus the pronoun *tadā*, thy; conjunctive participles such as *kartī*, having done, and so forth. Note the curious form *mērē-ku*, me, an idiom frequent in Dakhinī Hindōsthānī, and also finding parallels in Eastern languages, as in the Bihārī *hamarā-kē*, with the same meaning.

It would, however, be waste of time and paper to go further into details. The general character of this mixed form of speech will be sufficiently apparent from the specimens which follow. The first is the beginning of a version of the Parable from Ellichpur. It will be seen that the Rājasthānī element is rather strong in the Bēldārī of Ellichpur.

[No. 5.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BELDARI.

DISTRICT ELLICHPUR.

Ek admi-kē dō pōryā bhayē. Ō-mē-kō chhōtō pōryā hāpē
One man-of two sons were. Them-in-of younger by-son father-to
 kahyē, 'dādā, jē jingī-kō hisā āyē, ō mōhē dē.
it-was-said, 'father, which property-of share comes, that me give.'
 Phir ō-na sampat hāt-kē dī. Phir thōdē din-mē chhōtō
Then him-by property dividing was-given. Then few days-in small
 pōryā sab jamā kar-kē dār dēs-mē gayō, whā ō-nē
son all together having-made far country-in went, there him-by
 uthandpanā-sē aplō paisā udā dīyō. Ō-nē sab kharchē-par
riotousness-in own money wasting was-given. Him-by all spent-on
 ōnē mulak-mē bahōt dukāl paḍō, ō-nē paisā-kī adchan padan
that country-in much famine fell, him-to money-of went to-felt
 lagi. Phir ōnē dēs-kē ēk griha-kē jōrē jā-kē
began. Then that country-of one householder-of near having-gone
 rahyō, ō-nē ohē āpnē khēt-mē dukar charā-nē bhējō. Tab
stayed, him-by him own fields-in swine feeding-for was-sent. Then
 dukar jō tarphal khāt hōē, ō-sē āpnā pēt bhar-nō,
swine which husks eating were, those-from own belly should-be-filled,
 asi ō-kē man-mē āi; ō-nē kachhu kōhī dīdā nahī.
thus his mind-in came; him-to anything by-anyone was-given not.
 Phir ō sud-par ān-kē bōlō, 'mōrē bap-kī kittē rōjdār-ku.
Then he sense-in having-come said, 'my father-of how-many servants-to
 bharpār rōṭī hai, aur mī bhūk-sē marū. Mē uth-kē āpnē
richly bread is, and I hunger-from die. I having-arisen own
 bāp-kē itē jāū aur ohē kahū, "ō dādā, mē dēw-kē
father-of near may-go and to-him may-say, "O father, by-me God-of
 jōrē aur tōrē dēkhat pāp karē. Abhī-sē tōrā pōryā kahē
near and thy in-sight sin was-done. Now-from thy son to-say
 lāyak mī nahīyā, Ek mahindār sarikō mērē-ku rakh."
worthy I not-am. One servant like me keep."

The next specimen hails from Buldana. It is of the same kind as the preceding. It is not a good specimen, and the noting down of the different sounds does not seem to be quite accurate. I give the text as I have received it.

[No. 6.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BELDARI.

DISTRICT BULDANA.

Kōn ēk duhī lāwdā hōtā. Dunun-mē-sē lahānā
Some one(-of) two sons were. Both-in-from by-younger-one
daūs kahlā, 'daū, mōrē hissā-ki jingī ma-kē dē.
father-to it-was-said, 'father, my share-of property me-to give.
Mhanūn daū-na jingī dunun-kē bāt dī. Thōra din-mē
Therefore father-by property both-to dividing was-given. Few days-in
lahānā āpli jingī lē-kan dusrē gāw-pē gēla. Yā-sē
small-one own property having-taken other village-to went. This-from
gēla āpna jingī chain-se udāl. Yē riti-sē paisa
went own property merry-making-in was-wasted. This way-in money
chain-mē udāā, māng baḍā kāl girā. Kāl girā
merry-making-in were-wasted, afterwards big famine fell. Famine fell
mhanjē pañchāl girā. Khāē-kē māng jāy-kūn dusrē-kē
then difficulty fell. Eating-for begging having-gone another-of
gharē raha. Wō-nē dukhar rākhē-kē dhari. Wō-kē gharē
in-house remained. Him-by swine tending-for was-kept. His in-house
kōṇḍā dukhar-kā khāēl u-ch āpnā kōṇḍā khāēl dēl tar pēt
husks swine-of ate that-even him-by husks ate gave then belly
bharēl; wuhī ō-nē dūl nahī. Yē-lartā ākh ughaḍ gayī.
filled; that-even him-to was-given not. This-for eyes opened went,
tab āpnē-kē kah lagā, 'āpna daū-kē jōḍ naukar paisā
then himself-to to-say began, 'own father-of near servants money
ur-kan purī, mī yāsā upāsī marna. Āb jā-kan
being-to-spare was-filled, I this-like by-hunger die. Now having-gone
daū-kē kahus, "daū, dēw-kā tōra aprādh fār mē-nē karā.
father-to will-say, "father, God-of of-thee sin much me-by was-done.
Mī tōra lāwdā hōy-kan lēā-kā dayā nihē. Tē āpnā majur
I thy son having-become taking-of mercy not. Thou own servant
sārkhā bagā." Asē vichār kar-kan āpnē daū-kē attē
like consider." So consideration made-having own father-of near
āla. Wō ātā-ch dūr-sē daū-nē dekhē; wō-kē dayā āil,
came. He coming far-from father-by was-seen; him-to mercy came,
āpnē lāwdā-kē garē-mē hāt ḍālī, wō-nē mukā lāi.
own son-of neck-on hands were-thrown, him-by kisses were-taken.

Lāwdā dāū-kē kahyālā, 'dāū, mē-nē dēw-kā tōra badā aprādh
 Son father-to said, 'father, me-by God-of of-thee great sin
 karē. Ab tōra lāwdā āē-kē mōra dayā nahī.' Dāū-nē
 was-made. Now thy son come-to my mercy not.' Father-by
 uttam pōshāk lāwdā-kē āng-pē, hāth-mē āngthī, pāw-mē panhī dāri.
 best robe son-of body-on, hand-on ring, foot-on shoes were-put.
 Āpnē chākar-sē kahī, āndī kahyālā, 'āj āpan
 Oen servants-to having-said, also said, 'to-day we
 khāē-piā-kē chāin karē; kōran āj mōra lāwdā
 having-eaten-and-drunk merriment may-make; because to-day my son
 marēl, asē samjat rahēl, wō āj parat āla; ih wō āj
 died, thus thinking I-was, he to-day back came; and he to-day
 gēla, tē sāpadla.' Mhanūn sab ānand karē lagē.
 went, he was-found.' Then all joy to-make began.

Specimens have also been received from the Jaisalmir State, and two of them will be printed below. The first is a song sung by Beldārs in the rainy season; the second a hymn which they recite in the early mornings and especially at the Hōlī festival. The Beldāri of Jaisalmir is of the same kind as that illustrated in the preceding pages. Forms such as *mānsā-chē*, of a man; *dēsā-chē*, of a country; *Rāmā-chē*, of God; *kuttā*, a dog, occur in other Jaisalmir specimens. The general nature of the Beldāri of the State is, however, well illustrated by the two short specimens which follow.

[No. 7.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BELDARĪ.

STATE JAISALMER.

SPECIMEN I.

Kālōri kalhyān umatti, ālā mhi, bharlē nādē nādiyē bharlē
Black clouds overhanging, came rain, filled tanks small-tanks filled

Bhim talāw.

Bhim tank.

Sātā sēliā-chē jhūlrē gēli pāni talāw : sāt sahiā pūthi
Seven female-friends-of in-company went water tank ; seven friends back
 bharti gēli, hēkalrī rēli talāw.
having-filled went, alone remained (at-)the-tank.

Pachchham dīshā-sū ōthi ālā.
Western direction-from camel-rider came.

‘Bijō sahiā rē kājāl tībhiā, tudē kā bringē
Other to-friends O collyrium forehead-ornaments, thy why dirty

bēsh ?’

dress ?’

‘Bijā-jē sāhabē gharē basī, mājō basē pardēs.
Others-of husbands in-house dwell, mine dwell abroad.’

‘Gharā patak-dē talā-mā, ā māchi lārō.
Pots throw tank-in, come of-me with.’

‘Bālā-jālā tudī jāhān, mācē nākhā sēmpī lūp.
I-may-burn thy tongue, in-it I-may-put Sambhar salt.’

‘Hak ōthi manā kahē, mārī sāsū-jī ō-lō, “ā-jā māchi
One camel-rider me-to said, my mother-in-law O, “come of-me

lār.” ‘Kō sarikā phūtrā, kē-chē unīār ?’

with.” ‘What like beautiful, whose features?’

‘Māchē dēwar sarikā phūtrā, māchi nandal-chē unīār.
My brother-in-law like beautiful, my husband's-sister-of features.’

‘Bālā-jālā tudī jīlī, tudā parṇō-rā bhartār.
I-may-burn thy tongue, thy married husband.’

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

Dark clouds have been overhanging, and the rain has come. Tanks and reservoirs and also the Bhīm tank are filled.

A woman went with seven friends to fetch water from the tank. The seven friends returned home after having filled their pots, and she remained alone at the tank.

Meanwhile a man riding on a camel arrived from the west and said to her:—

'The other girls have put collyrium in their eyes and ornaments on their foreheads. Why is your dress dirty?'

(She replied—)

'The other ones have got their husbands at home, but mine is abroad.'

(Then he said—)

'Throw the water pot into the tank, and come along with me.'

(She replied—)

'I shall burn your tongue and put Sambhar salt on it.'

(She then returned home and said to her mother-in-law—)

'A camel *sōwār* said to me, O mother-in-law, "come along with me."'

(The mother-in-law asked—)

'How did he look and what were his features like?'

(She replied—)

'He had the beauty of my brother-in-law and the features of my husband's sister.'

(On this the mother-in-law rebuked her and said—)

'I shall burn your tongue, he was thy own husband.'

[No. 8.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BĒLDĀRĪ.

STATE JAISALMER.

SPECIMEN II.

Har	uth	milti-kē	Bharat	bhāū,	Har	ālā
<i>Hari</i>	<i>having-arisen</i>	<i>having-embraced</i>	<i>Bharata</i>	<i>brother,</i>	<i>Hari</i>	<i>came</i>
uth	milti-kē.					
<i>having-arisen</i>	<i>having-embraced,</i>					

Bāh	pasārti	millē	dun	bhāū,	nēnā-mā	nir	ralakti
<i>Arms</i>	<i>having-extended</i>	<i>embraced</i>	<i>both</i>	<i>brothers,</i>	<i>eyes-in</i>	<i>water</i>	<i>rolling</i>
ālā.							
<i>came.</i>							

'Kē	nī	rē	bhāū	ban-khaṇḍa-chyā	bātā,	kēṛi	kēṛi	hipat
<i>'Says</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>O</i>	<i>brother</i>	<i>woods-of</i>	<i>tales,</i>	<i>what</i>	<i>what</i>	<i>mis</i>
bhugattī	ālā.'							
<i>having-suffered</i>	<i>camest.'</i>							

'Ban	phal	khāelā	pān	bichhāelā,	ēṛi	ēṛi	hipat
<i>'Forest</i>	<i>fruits</i>	<i>were-eaten</i>	<i>leaves</i>	<i>were-spread,</i>	<i>such</i>	<i>such</i>	<i>mis</i>
bhugattī	ālā.'						
<i>having-suffered</i>	<i>came.'</i>						

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

Having arisen, Rāma came, embracing his brother Bharata. Rāma came, having arisen, and embraced him.

Having extended their arms both brothers embraced, and their eyes filled with tears.

(Bharata asked): 'Will you not relate, O brother, the tales of the forest; what kind of troubles you had to undergo?'

(Rāma said): 'The fruits of the forest I ate, and the leaves of the forest I used as bed. Such troubles have I endured.'

The Bēldārī of the Ramdurg State seems to be of a similar kind, though the Marāṭhī element is somewhat stronger. It will be sufficient to print the beginning of a version of the Parable as illustration.

[No. 9.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BĒLDĀRI.

STATE RAMBURG.

Ekē bā-nē dōn bēte hilall. Vē-chī nēnkē bēte-nē bā-nē
One father-to two sons were. Them-of younger son-by father-to
 kēlē, 'jīgānī-ma mana bātnī da.' Dō-janī bēteyān bātnī
it-was-said, 'property-in me-to share give.' Two-persons sons-to shares
 kartī dili. Kai-ēk danūt nēnkā-nē sagli jindgi hilili
making were-given. Some days-in younger-one-by all property was
 giti lambē mulkān gēlā. Uda jāti manān wātal jō-pār
having-taken far country-to went. There going mind-to appeared as-far
 dain kēli. Uda jāti kāl padlā. Vēn kharchan nahī,
wasting was-done. There going famine fell. Him-to to-spend was-not,
 mōt chintam padlā. Vē mulkā-mē ēkē mānsān jāti vē mānsāē
great anxiety fell. That country-in one man-to going that man-by
 yēn malkī giti vē mānsā-nē dukrē rākhnē-nā mēllā. Vē
him appointing taking that man-by swine keeping-for was-sent. That
 baktān vēn dukar khānyā-chō jinnas-jōku dēkhun milal nahī.
time-at him-to swine eaten husks even was-got not.

ŌDKĪ.

The Ōds are a wandering tribe who are found all over India. In Kathiawar they are pond diggers; in the Panjab they take small contracts on roads, canals, railways, and the like, and also build houses and dig tanks or wells. In Mathura they weave coarse cloth. In the South they cut out stones from the earth, convey them on their carts to where they are wanted, dig tanks and wells and so on. The number of Ōds returned at the Census of 1911 was 610,162 distributed as follows:—

Madras	550,100
Panjab	32,246
United Provinces	9,071
Rajputana Agency	7,839
Elsewhere	10,897
TOTAL	610,162

The root meaning of the word *ōd* is uncertain. In the South it takes the form *ōdā*, and the Rev. F. Kittel compares Telugu *ōdē*, drudgery, *ōddevāṇḍā*, tank diggers. As most Ōds belong to the South, it is very probable that the word is originally Dravidian, and connected with the name of the Vādāras.

The majority of the Ōds, or about 600,000, are found in South India and are stated to speak a patois of Telugu. We have not sufficient information about the dialect of the remaining Ōds. As a separate form of speech it has only been returned from Muzaffargarh in the Panjab, and from Cutch, Panch Mahals, Hyderabad and Thar and Parkar in the Bombay Presidency. The estimated number of speakers according to information collected for the purposes of this Survey was:—

Panjab	514
Muzaffargarh	514
Bombay Presidency	2,300
Cutch	250
Panch Mahals	50
Hyderabad	1,500
Thar and Parkar	500
TOTAL	2,514

Specimens of Ōdkī have, however, also been forwarded from the Dhandhuka town in Ahmedabad District (in Bombay), and a list of words hailing from Shikarpur (in the Panjab), which will not be reproduced below, shows that the Ōds of that district speak the same language as their namesakes farther south. If we except the Dravidian South it is therefore probable that Mr. Baines was right in stating¹ that 'the earth-workers called Ōd or Waddar carry a language of their own from Peshawar to the sea, using a vocabulary less and less Dravidian as the tribe frequents tracts farther away from the East Deccan, from whence it probably originated.' The Ōds were probably from the

¹ Census of India, 1891. General Report. London, 1893, p. 137.

beginning Dravidians and spoke a form of Telugu. Later on, we are not able to say when, a comparatively numerous section seems to have spent a considerable time in a locality where the prevailing languages were Marāṭhī, Gujarātī and Rājasthānī. It is of interest to note that the Ōḍ of Northern India are only found in the west, from the United Provinces to Sind. So far as we know their language everywhere contains a strong Marāṭhī element, and it seems likely that their North Indian home must have been in North-Western Dekhan. According to the returns at the Census of 1901,¹ their distribution in the Bombay Presidency was as follows :—

Ahmedabad	1,206
Broach	715
Kaira	805
Panch Mahals	461
Surat	53
Cambay	200
Cutch	188
Kathiawar	959
Mahikandho	106
Palanpur	491
Rewa Kantha	385
Karachi	201
Hyderabad	1,549
Shikarpur	1,338
Thar and Parkar	1,449
Upper Sind Frontier	127
Kharipur	278
Total	10,571

It will be seen that the Ōḍ were practically restricted to districts where Gujarātī and Sindhī are the prevailing languages. The existence of a strong Marāṭhī element in Ōḍkī can only be explained under the supposition that these Ōḍ have come from some place farther east, say in the hills bordering the Marāṭhī area. Such a localisation would also agree with the fact that the Ōḍ of Southern India speak Telugu.

The specimens of Ōḍkī printed below, and the Standard List of Words and Sentences on pp. 178ff. will give a good idea of the nature of the Marāṭhī affinities. It will be seen that it is a mixed form of speech containing elements taken from different sources. As in the case of the Gipsy language of Europe these elements are important as showing the route by which the tribe must have wandered. They are, however, to a great extent so perspicuous that it is unnecessary to enter upon a detailed discussion. It will be sufficient to draw attention to some of the most important features. The Marāṭhī element is particularly strong. Thus the neuter of strong bases ends in *ē* or *ē̃* as in Marāṭhī; compare *talē*, tank; *kēlē*, it was said. Strong masculine bases end in *ā*, plural *ē*; thus, *ghōrā*, horse; *ghōrē*, horses. Note also the oblique bases in *ā* of weak and *ē* of strong masculine bases, and in *i* of feminine bases; thus, *dēsā-mā*, in a country; *lerkē-chē*, of a man; *malakāi-chā*, of the property. The termination *chā*, *chī*, *chē* of the genitive is important. The same is the case with the termination *lā* of the past tense of verbs; thus, *gētā*, went; *mōrlā*, struck. Compare further the imperative plural in *ā*; thus, *āwā*, come; the infinitives in *ē̃* and *pē̃*; thus, *kēhē̃*, to say; *mārē̃*, to strike, and so forth. Such forms are found in all the specimens,

¹ No similar return is available for 1911.

and they gain in importance when we remember that they all hail from districts where Marāṭhī is not a home tongue of the population.

Several of the usual terminations in Ōḍkī do not agree with Marāṭhī but with Gujarātī and Rājasthānī. Such are the suffixes *ē* of the agent and *ne* of the dative, both of which are also found in Mālvi; the ablative in *ti*; the locative in *mā*; forms such as *hē*, I (compare Gujarātī, Mālvi and Mārwarī *hē*); *chhē*, *sē* and *hē*, is; the conjunctive participle is *tinē* (Gujarātī *inē*) and so forth. The Gujarātī element is strongest in Gujarātī districts such as the Panch Mahals and Ahmedabad, but is also apparent in other districts.

Features borrowed from languages other than Marāṭhī and Gujarātī have more of a local character. The locative termination *māy*, which is prevalent in Mārwarī is, however, common in the Ahmedabad District, where Gujarātī is the chief language. Of such local borrowings I may mention the common cerebralisation of a *ḡ* in Cutch and in the districts of Hyderabad, Thar and Parkar, Shikarpur and Muzaffargarh; the Pañjābī dative termination *aṭ* in the same districts with the exception of Cutch, and other sporadic instances of borrowings from the local dialects. They will be easily ascertained from the specimens which follow. The first is a version of the Parable from the Panch Mahals. It represents a dialect which can be characterized as Gujarātī with a Marāṭhī substructure.

[No. 10.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

OPKL.

DISTRICT PANCH MAHALS.

Ek guchi-nē dōn chhōydē salē. Nē dhāyde chhōydē bāp-nē
One man-to two sons were. And the-younger-by son-by father-to
 kēlē kē, 'bāpē, puñjiyā bhāg amō-nē dē.' Nē ōnē
it-was-said that, 'father, property-of share me-to give.' And by-him
 puñji wahēchti dēli. Nē thōdēk dan pachhi dhāyda
property having-divided was-given. And few days after the-younger
 chhōyda badhē gētīnē dūr dēhā-mā gēlā nē padē
son all having-collected a-far country-into went and there
 rang-bhōg kartīnē pōtāchī puñji udādti dēli.
pleasure-and-enjoyment having-made his-own property having-wasted was-given.
 Nē ōnē badhē kharachti nākhlē tyār-pachhi ō dēhā-mē
And by-him all having-expended was-thrown then-after that country-in
 mōtē dukāl padlā nē ōnē badi tankāl padwā lāgli. Nē ō
great famine fell and him-to great want to-fall began. And he
 jātīnē ō dēhā-chē wartanī-mā-chē ēkā-chē padē rēhlā.
having-gone that country-of inhabitants-in-of one-of near remained.
 Nē ōnē pōtā-chē khētrā-mē bhūḍōnē chārlē-sāru ōnē mōkallā. Nē
And by-him his-own fields-in swine grazing-for him was-sent. And
 jō siogā bhūḍā khātīgē ō-mā-thī pōtā-chē pēt bharlē-sāru ōnī
which husks swine were-eating that-in-from his-own belly filling-for his
 ichēbhā salt. Nē kēpi ōnē dēlē nahī. Nē ō sāwchit
wish was. And by-anyone him-to was-given not. And he in-sense
 halā tyārē ōnē kēlē kē, 'māchē bā-chē katnē majurō-nē
became then by-him it-was-said that, 'my father-of how-many servants-to
 pushkal badā chhē; paṇ hē-tō bhakhē marē-chhē; hē-tō uṭhīnē
plenty bread is; but I-indeed hunger-by dying-am; I having-arisen
 māchē bā-chē padē jāi, nē ōnē kahī kē, "hē bā,
my father-of near will-go, and him-to will-say that, "O father,
 mē akāśā-mē nē tadhi āgaḷ pāp karlē chhē; nē hē-mē tam-chā
by-me heaven-in and of-thee before sin done is; and this-in your
 chhōyda kēlē lāg hē nī-thā; mā-nē tum-chē majurō-mā-chē ēkā-chē
son to-be-called fit I not-am; me your servants-in-of one-of
 jāśā gaṇ." Nē ō uṭhīnē pōtā-chē bā-chē padē gēlā. Nē ō
like count." And he having-arisen his-own father-of near went. And he

tò ghanē dūr salā tyārē ō-chē bā-ē onē dēkhā nē ō-nē
yet very far was then his father-by him-to was-seen and him-to
diyā āli. Nē ō dōṭṭinē ō-chī kōṭī walagti padlā, nē
compassion came. And he having-run his on-neck clinging fell, and
ō-nē bachi karli. Nē chhōyḍē-nē ō-nē kēlē kē, 'bā,
him-to kiss was-done. And the-son-by him-to it-was-said that, 'father,
mē akāśā-mē nē tadhī āga| pāp karlē chhē; nē hē-mē tam-chā
by-me heaven-in and of-thee before sin done is; and this-in your
chhōyḍā kēlē lāg hē nī-thā.' Paṇ bā-ē pōṭā-chē
son to-be-called fit I not-am.' But the-father-by his-own
dāsā-nē kēlē kē, 'awa| ḍyṇā gōṭi āwā nē
servants-to it-was-said that, 'good clothes having-taken come and
ō-nē andhāwā, nē ō-chē hāthē vīṭī ghālā, nē pagā-mē
him-to put-on, and his on-hand a-ring put, and feet-on
jōḍē andhāwā. Nē āpu khātīnē anand karjē;
shoes put. And we having-eaten merriment may-make;
kāy-kē, ā mā-chā chhōyḍā marti gēlā, nē sō phartī jīvā
because, this my son having-died went, and he again alive
halā chhē; nē gamātī gēlālā, nē ō jadlā chhē.' Nē ō
become is; and lost had-gone, and he found is.' And they
anand karu lāglē.
merriment to-do began.

Anē ō-chā mōṭach chhōyḍā khātrā-mē salā. Nē ō wājā
And his elder son fields-in was. And he returning
gharā-chī pāhē pahōchlā tyārē ō-nē nāch nē raṅg hāmbharlā.
house-of near reached then him-by dancing and music was-heard.
Nē ō-nē chākrā-mē-thī ēki-nē balāwatīnē puchhlē kē, 'kāy
And him-by servants-in-from one-to having-called it-was-asked that, 'what
hōya chhē?' Nē ō-nē chākrā-nē kēlē kē, 'tadhā
becoming is?' And him-to the-servant-by it-was-said that, 'thy
bhāu ālā chhē. Nē tadhē bā-ē ēk baḍī jāfat karli chhē,
brother come is. And thy father-by one grand feast made is,
kāy-kē ō onē khēm-kuśal-thī puthā mallā chhē.' Paṇ ō-nē
because he him-to in-good-condition back joined is.' But him-to
rīs chadlī nē māhi ālē-chī ō-chī khūṣī nā salī. Mātē
anger rose and inside going-of his willingness not was. Therefore
ō-chē bā-ē bahār āwtīnē ō-nē samjāwlā. Paṇ ō-nē
his father-by out having-come him remonstrated-with. But him-by
jawāb dētā bāp-nē kēlē kē, 'dēkh atnē waras hē
reply while-giving father-to it-was-said that, 'see so-many years I

tadhi	chākri	karē	chhē,	nē	tadhi	āgnā	mē	kadi
thy	service	doing	am,	and	thy	commandment	by-me	ever
ōjaṅgī		na-thī,	tō-pan	mā-chē	mitrawā-sāthē	khuśi	karīō	
transgressed		not-was,	still	my	friends-with	pleasure	making	
wāstē	tē	ma-nē	hākrē	pan	kadi	dēlē	nī-thē.	Paṇ
for	by-thee	me-to	a-kid	even	ever	given	not-was.	But
ā	tadhā	chhōyḍā	ōṇī	tadhi	puṇjī	kasabēṇō-che	hāthī	
this	thy	son	by-him	thy	property	harlots-of	with	
gamātī		nākhī	ōnā	āwtā	tē	ō-chī-sāru	awā	
squandering		was-thrown-away	he	coming	by-thee	him-for	good	
jiṇfat	karī.	Nē	ōṇī	kēlē	kē,	chhōyḍā,		
a-feast	was-done.	And	by-him	it-was-said	that,	son,		
tū	māchī-sāthē	nity	chhē ;	nē	māchē	saghlē	tadhē	
thou	me-of-with	always	art ;	and	my	all	thine	
chhē.	Āplē-tō	khuś	anē	nālḷē	tathā	harakh		
is.	Our-indeed	pleased	to-become	is-proper	and	merriment		
karnā	nālḷē.	Kāy-kē	ā	tadhā	bhāu	martī		
to-make	is-proper.	Because	this	thy	brother	having-died		
gēlālā,	nē	pharātī	jīwtā	halā	chhē ;	nē	gamātī	
was-gone,	and	again	alive	become	is ;	and	lost	
gēlālā,	nē	ō	jadlā	chhē.				
was-gone,	and	he	found	is.				

The next specimen is a popular tale about Jāsmā who, according to the Rās Mālā,¹ came from Malwa with a number of Ōḍs in order to dig the Sahasralīng Lake at Patan for Siddh Rāj. The Rājā fell in love with her, but she declined his offer. When he pursued her, she committed suicide and cursed him. She is still worshipped by the Ōḍs.

The specimen is of the same kind as the preceding one.

¹ Forbes, *Rās Mālā*, I. 111B.

[No. II.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

ODKI.

DISTRICT AHMEDABAD.

Sadrāo Jēsaṅgē Jāhmā-nē asē kēlē kē, 'ēk danā-māy talē
Siddhrāo Jaisingh-by Jāsmā-to so it-was-said that, 'one day-in tank
 khantīnē pāṇiyā-thī rāt-kī-rātī-māy talē bhar-dē.' Jāhmāē asē kēlē
having-dug water-with one-night-in tank fill-give.' Jāsmā-by so it-was-said
 kē, 'tījē dan bhar dañ.' Pachhē Jāhmā Kūwārki pāhān
that, 'on-third day fill will-give.' Afterwards Jāsmā Virgin near
 gēli, hāth jōḍtīnē kargarī kē, 'bāi, hāy atnī kastī tū
went, hands having-joined besought that, 'lady, this so-great misery thou
 ma-nē khōwād.' Kūwārkiē kēlē kē, 'hī āvī, paṇ
me cause-to-loose.' Virgin-by it-was-said that, 'I shall-come, but
 puṭhē waltīnē dēkhiō nahī.' Kūwārkiē dan ugtā talē
backwards having-turned please-look not.' Virgin-by day opening tank
 bhar dēlē. Pachhē Sadrāo Jāhmā pāhān ālā nē Jāhmā
filling was-given. Afterwards Siddhrāo Jāsmā near came and to-Jāsmā
 bhēgā balā. Jāhmāē anū kēlē kē, 'tū tadhā māp-sar
joined became. Jāsmā-by thus it-was-said that, 'thou thy measure-following
 puṭhā wal.' Sadrāwō asē kēlē kē, 'hī tadhā kēdā mēlnār
back turn.' Siddhrāo-by thus it-was-said that, 'I thy way leave
 nītā.' Tārē bāiē dhartī mātā-nē asē kēlē kē, 'hē
not-am.' Then the-woman-by Earth Mother-to thus it-was-said that, 'O
 mā, hī satī hōy, tō tū bhēgi mā jā.' Dhartī bhēgi
mother, I chaste am, then thou together joined go.' Earth together
 hālī. Tō Sadrāo rād khēchū māḍlā. Pachhē Sadrāo bōllā
become. Then Siddhrāo cry to-raise began. Afterwards Siddhrāo said
 kē, 'tū māchhi bāṇ chhē.' Jāhmā bōllī kē, 'tadhā ganā māf
that, 'thou my sister is.' Jāsmā said that, 'thy sin forgiven
 chhē; paṇ tadhā wāsvālā nai rē.' Pachhē Jāhmā
is; but thy offspring not remains.' Afterwards Jāsmā
 Khalikhōlwādē āwtīnē badhē oḍā-nē māllī. Pachhē o
to-Khalikhōlwād having-come all Oḍs-to was-joined. Afterwards that
 bāi huraj-nē hāth jōḍtīnē asē bōllī kē, 'mē tō māchē
woman sun-to hands having-joined so said that, 'by-me for-my-part mine
 narvēdlē, paṇ māchī tachi āgālī jētnē rūp kōi oḍā-chī dhūvē-nē
is-done-with, but my last on-finger as-much beauty any Oḍ-of girl-to
 nā dīō.
not give.'

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

Siddhrāj Jaisingh said to Jāsmā, 'dig a tank in one day and fill it with water during the night.' She said that she would be able to do so on the third day. Then Jāsmā went to the Virgin River¹ and besought her with folded hands to free her from this great distress. The Virgin said, 'I shall come, but you must not look behind.' At daybreak the Virgin filled the tank. Then Siddhrāo came to Jāsmā and joined her. Jāsmā asked him to turn back, in accordance with his position, but Siddhrāo said that he would not desist from pursuing her. Then the woman said to Mother Earth, 'O mother, if I am a chaste woman, let me be united with you.' Then the Earth came close to her. Siddhrāo raised a cry and said, 'thou art my sister.' Jāsmā said, 'thy sin is forgiven, but thy progeny shall not remain.' Then Jāsmā went to Khalikholwad² and joined the Ōḍs. Afterwards she joined her hands and said to the Sun, 'I have done with life, but do not grant to any Ōḍ girl as much beauty as there is on my last finger.'

According to specimens forwarded from the Cutch State the Ōḍs there use a form of speech of the same kind as that illustrated in the preceding pages. We may only note the frequent cerebralisation of a dental *d*; thus, *dēwā*, give; *dāḍi*, grandmother; *ḍi*, day.

¹ A name of the river Sarasvatī, which is so called because its water is lost in the desert and does not join the Ocean.

² A village near Modhera, where Jāsmā's shrine is still worshipped by the Ōḍs.

[No. 12.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

ODKI.

CUTCH STATE.

‘Āwā, bēśā, Rām-Rām. Tamē kathē-thi āwā sawā?’

‘Come, sit, Rām-Rām. You where-from come are?’

‘Hē Chaprēṛi-tī āvē sē.’

‘I Chaprēṛi-from coming am.’

‘Warsāti-mē tamī ghaṇā hērān hālē sawā. Tamā sārū

‘Rain-in you much troubled become are. You for

sigri karū? Thōṛi wār tāphā tō tamō-nē

fire shall-I-make? Little time you-will-warm-yourself then you-to

sukh havi. Tamā sārū kāi rasōi karāvē?’

comfort will-be. You for what meal may-I-cause-to-be-made?’

‘Mācelē i tāṇē kāi khāwō naitē.’

‘Me-of this time anything to-eat not-is(-wanted).’

‘Sāw kāi khālē vīgar chālē? Thōṛē ghaṇē jū

‘Entirely anything eaten without can-it-do? Little much what

bhāvē sū khāwā.’

may-please that eat.’

‘I-mā tō mā-nē tras lāgli sē. Pānī pīwū

‘This-in indeed me-to thirst joined is. Water to-drink

ghōwā.’

give.’

‘Tam-chē lūgrē thōṛik wār tīṛkē sūkwn mēlē?’

‘Your clothes a-little time in-the-sun to-dry may-I-put?’

‘Bhalē, mēlā.’

‘Well, put.’

‘Tamā sārū kāi rasōi karāvē?’

‘You for what meal may-I-cause-to-be-made?’

‘Mē tamā-nē kēlē sē kē bhūkh nāī lāgli.’

‘By-me you-to said is that hunger not is-got.’

‘Thōṛik khichṛi nē bār khātī ghōwā.’

‘Little khichṛi and bread eating take.’

‘Tam-chī marji sē ta bhalē, karāwā.’

‘You-of wish is then well, let-it-be-prepared.’

‘Tam-chē gharē badhē-y rūji-khusi sē?’

‘Your in-house all happy-glad are?’

'badhē-y thīk si, paṇ māchi dādī parimā
'All well are, but my grandmother the-day-before-yesterday
 marti gēli.
dying went.'

'Tē-nē kāi halēlē?'
'Her-to what had-happened?'

'Chār dī tāw ālā.
'Four days fever came.'

'Tam-chē khētrā-mā mōl kisēk halē sī?
'Your field-in crops how become are?'

'Ōy warsād jhājhā halā naitā, tē-thi jhājhē halē naitē.
'This-year rain much became not, that-from much became not.'

'Tā dhagā-chē kitrō nāpē dilē?
'These bullocks-of how-much money was-given?'

'Ma-nē sārē chār sō kōriā bēslā.
'Me-to with-a-half four hundred kōris were-expended.'

'Tē dhagē tamī vēchā?
'These bullocks you will-sell?'

'Pūrē nāpē dēwā tō vēchīnē?
'Enough money will-give then I-shall-sell.'

'Tamā-nē hē tin sō kōriā diē.
'You-to I three hundred kōris may-give.'

'Tin sō kōriā-mā kāi vēchāy?
'Three hundred kōris-in what can-they-be-sold?'

'Hē jāpē sē kē dhagē mōtē sī.
'I knowing am that bullocks old are.'

Sū itri kīmat
That so-much price

ghaṇī sē.
much is.'

'Tam-chī dhūi-chā viwā kiē mainē-mē karā?
'Your daughter-of marriage which month-in will-you-do?'

'Māchi dādī-chī warsī wartī raigē tē wāsē
'My grandmother's anniversary over will-be that after

karī?
I-shall-do?'

'Āj-chī rāt am-chē gharē nuṭī rēwā.
'Today-of night our in-house sleeping remain.'

'Nā, māchē sāji Dharaṅ pōchnē sē.
'No, mine to-night Dharang coming is.'

'Pachhē-warī kē dī am-chē gharē āwjā.
'Again some day our to-house come.'

'*Khāsē, Rām-Rām, i-mā hē jāl.*'
 'Well, *Rām-Rām, now I will-go.*'
 'Tam-chē gharē badhā-nē Rām-Rām kōjā.'
 'Your in-house all-to Rām-Rām say.'

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

'Come and take a seat. Welcome. Whence are you coming?'
 'I am coming from Chapreri.'
 'You must have been much troubled by the rain. Shall I make a fire for you? If you will warm yourself for a time, you will feel comfortable. What food may I order for you?'
 'I do not now want any food.'
 'It won't do that you should not take any food. Take only as much as you like.'
 'Just now I am thirsty. Give me water to drink.'
 'Shall I put your clothes a little while in the sun to dry?'
 'Yes, if you please.'
 'What food shall I order to be prepared for you?'
 'I have told you that I am not hungry.'
 'Just take a little *kāichrī* and bread.'
 'If that be your wish, get it prepared.'
 'Are all well in your house?'
 'All are well, only my grandmother died the day before yesterday.'
 'What was the matter with her?'
 'She had fever for four days.'
 'How are the crops in your field?'
 'There was not much rain this year, and so I have not got much.'
 'What did you pay for these bullocks?'
 'I paid four hundred and fifty *kōris*.'
 'Will you sell these bullocks?'
 'I will if you give a good price.'
 'I will pay three hundred *kōris*.'
 'How can they be sold for three hundred *kōris*?'
 'I think the bullocks are old, and so it is a good price.'
 'In what month are you going to have your daughter married?'
 'I shall do so after the ceremony of the first anniversary of my grandmother's death is over.'
 'Rest in our house to-night.'
 'No, I have to reach Dharang by sunset.'
 'Come to our house some other day.'
 'Very well. Adieu. I am off now.'
 'Give my compliments to all in your house.'

The dialect of the Ōds of Hyderabad and of Thar and Parkar is said to be identical. The same is the case in Shikarpur, and it will be sufficient to print a short specimen, the deposition of a villager in a case of assault, as illustrating the speech of the Ōds of all three districts. It will be seen that the influence of Sindhi, the prevailing language of the districts, is easily recognisable. Compare *rāti-jō*, of the night; *ghōr-karānu*, house-doing, hawking; *mājō*, my, and so on. The Panjābī termination of the dative *nū* has already been mentioned; compare *khuri-nū*, to the heel. An unpublished Standard List of Words and Sentences contains forms of an *h* future, viz. *mārḥē*, I shall, thou wilt, he will, beat; plur. 1. *mārḥē*, 2. *mārḥā*, 3. *mārḥē*. Similarly we find *tāphā*, you will warm yourself, in the specimen from the Cutch State printed above. These forms seem to be comparable with the Mārwarī future. In this connexion I may also note the Rājasthānī negative particle *kōnī*, not (lit. *kō-nī*, not at all); compare *kāhi ṁē-nā kō-dinā-nī*, anybody him-to not gave; *kō-dēlā-nī*, didst not give.

[No. 13.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

OPKI.

DISTRICT HYDERABAD.

Mai sākhe pari kahē. Mājō nā chhē Hashū. Mājō hā-jā
I oath on state. My name is Hashū. My father-of
 nā Thadā. Mai Hindā-dharam chhē, lohānā chhē. Mājā pōrihiā
name Thadā. I Hindū am, lohānā am. My profession
 ghōr-karāpū chhē. Mājī umuri chālīsī baras chhē. Mai Haidrābādi
haoking is. My age forty years is. I Hyderabad
 gāū Haidrābādi taulkā Haidrābādi jillē bihilē. Mājā firyādu
town Hyderabad in-ta'tūga Hyderabad in-district live. My complaint
 chhē Wasanmalā-par. Subhānē hekē bajē rāti-jō
is Wasanmal-on. Yesterday one when-struck night-of
 tikānē-mā jāelā. Gharē bātē ūpari dōdi-batū chhilē.
abode(-of-a-faqir)-in went. Home way on curds-seller-shop was.
 Ū-kaddhū dādhu ghēlē. Ūthē jawābudār ālā; ālō siri māji
That-from curds were-taken. There accused came; come on my
 sūji khuri-nū thudā mārīā. Māi u-nū kahilē. 'kē-nū
right heel-to stumbling was-struck. By-me him-to it-was-said, 'why
 ādhā hulā-hē? Jaka-māthē ma-nū lugāi āi dhū-pari gali
blind become-art? This-after me-to wife and daughter-on abuses
 dihilīā, thāshā olār-tē lār-nē-kū ālā. Māi darlā, nastī-patā
were-given, blow having-threatened flight-to came. I feared, far-off
 hulā. Hōtū Nārū Rījhū vichhū achhi-parlē. Tadhlī jawābdārā
became. Hōtū Nārū Rījhā between came. Then accused-by
 basi-karī; na-ta ma-nū mārē-hā. Jawābdārā-sū āgē
stop-was-made; otherwise me would-have-struck. Accused-with formerly
 māji dushmanī kōnī.
my enmity not.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

I make the following statement upon my oath. My name is Hashû and my father's name is Thadâ. I am a Hindû by religion, and I am a Lohânâ. My profession is hawking. My age is forty years. I am a resident of Hyderabad town, Haiderabad *ta'tûqa*, Hyderabad District. My complaint is against Wasanmal. Last night at one o'clock I went to the abode of a faqîr. On my way home I passed a curls-seller's shop, and there I bought some curls. There the accused came and stumbled against my right heel. 'Why,' said I, 'are you blind?' Then he began to pour out abuse against my wife and daughter, and after threatening to beat me he prepared to fight. I became afraid and stood far off. Hôtû, Nârû and Rijhû intervened, and then the accused desisted. Else he would have struck me. I never before had any enmity with accused.

Specimens of Ôdki have also been received from Muzaffargarh, and a short popular tale from that district is printed below. It will be seen that in the main it agrees with the Ôdki illustrated in the preceding pages. The cerebralisation of *d* in *dô*, two, etc., and forms such as *mahâ-kan*, from me, point in the direction of Sindhi. There are also some Panjâbî reminiscences such as *raqdê-nû*, to the wife; *bâ-dâ*, of a father. On the whole, however, the Ôdki of Muzaffargarh is of the same kind as in the Gujarâtî districts,—a mixture of Marâthî and Gujarâtî-Râjasthâni. The form *huttâ*, was, which does not occur in other specimens, is comparable to Marâthî *hôtâ*.

[No. 14.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

OPKI.

DISTRICT MUZAFFARGARH.

Hek bādshāh huttā. Ō-chē gharē olād kār na huttī. Ō
One King was. His in-house 'offspring any not was. He
 apnī bādshāhī chhōr-litī ō hēk rōz mārgā ūpar nīti bēlā. Fakir
own kingdom having-left he one day way on going sat. Fakir
 jurti-kē dhūā ghaltī bēlā. Hēk rōz jhūṇḍ fakirā-chā ālā.
having-turned smoke making sat. One day group fakirs-of come.
 Ō-nē kehlē, 'tū ēthā mārgā-par kahī bēlā?' Bādshāh
That-by it-was-said, 'thou this way-on why sittest?' By-the-King
 kehlē, 'tāmī mahā-kan kahī na pūchhā.' Fakirē
it-was-said, 'you me-from anything not ask.' The-fakirs-by
 kehlē, 'amī pūchhī.' Bādshāh kehlē jō, 'māchē gharē
it-was-said, 'we ask.' By-the-King it-was-said that, 'my in-house
 olād kār nahī?' Fakirē kehlē, 'dō tapāsē chhit.
offspring any not-is?' The-fakirs-by it-was-said, 'two sweets break.
 Hek ap khā, hēk apnē randē-nū khullā. Vi-nū hēk pūt paidā
One self eat, one own wife-to cause-to-eat. Her-to one son borne
 hōwē; māthē-par chād hōwē, chichī-par tarā hōwē.
will-be; forehead-on moon will-be, little-fingers-on star will-be.'
 Bādshāh-chē gharē pūt jālā. Ō-chē gharē dō randā hutyā;
King-of in-house son was-borne. His in-house two wives were;
 jissē mōṭī huttī, vi-chē gharē pūt jamū-palā. Jissī dhārī mūd
which elder was, her in-house son birth-got. Which younger wife
 huttī, vi-nē biṭhārī-nū kehlē, 'ē bār gūṭī dē.'
was, her-by midwife-to it-was-said, 'this child killing give.'
 Biṭhārī chhāj kōlā-chē bharti-kē vi-chē gōdhū mēhiltī gēlī. Bār
Midwife basket coal-of having-filled her-of near having-put went. Child
 chatti-kē rūri-par nāk-tī ālī. Bādshāh-nū
having-carried manure-heap-on having-thrown returned. King-to
 kehlē, 'tūdhīā randē kōlō jālā.' Kuttī bhilī
it-was-said, 'thy wife-by coals were-brought-forth.' Bitch standing
 bādshāh-chī huttī; bārā-nū chatti challi apnē bhāwarē-mē
king-of was; child having-carried went own pit-in
 nittī nāklē. Hek dō sāl guzrē. Ō bār rū lāglē.
going was-thrown. One two years passed. That child to-cry began.

Bādshāhzādi-nū pattā lāglā. 'Ē bārā-nū marāti nākhā' Kutti
Queen-to news was-got. 'This child killing throw.' Bitch
 bhilli sunlē. Bār-kū chatti-kē khūni ghōrē-chē āgū āpti
standing heard. Child having-carried bloody horse-of before bringing
 nāklē. O jawān huttā. Bādshāh-nū pattā lāglā. O
was-thrown. He youth became. King-to news was-got. He
 gharē gēti gallā, ghanē khushī karlē, waqā dān-pun
in-house taking was-put, much rejoicing was-made, great alms
 karlā.
were-made.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

There was once a King. He had no offspring in his house. One day he left his kingdom and sat down at the roadside as a *faqīr* near a smouldering fire. One day a group of *faqīrs* came along and asked him why he was sitting there on the road. The King replied, 'do not ask me any question.' The *faqīrs* said they would ask. The King said that he had no offspring in his house. The *faqīrs* said, 'take two *tapāsās*. Eat one yourself and get your wife to eat the other. She will bring forth a son, with a moon on his forehead and a star on his little finger.' Subsequently a son was born in the palace. The King had two wives, and the son was born in the eldest wife's house. The second wife told the midwife to kill the child. The midwife brought a basket full of coal and put it near her. She then took the child and put it on a heap of manure. The King was told that his wife had given birth to coal. The King's bitch was standing there. She carried the child off and put it in her own pit. After the lapse of one or two years the younger queen was informed that the child had been heard to cry, and she again ordered it to be killed. The bitch heard this, took the child and entrusted it to a bloody horse. The child grew up and the King learnt about him. He brought him home, made great rejoicings and gave much alms.

LĀDĪ.

The Lāds are a Gipsy tribe, who sell betel-leaf, areca-nuts, tobacco, *bhang*, etc. The number of Lāds returned at the last Census of 1911 was as follows:—

Bombay	11,781
Central Provinces and Berar	5,383
Baroda State	8,500
Hyderabad State	8,776
Elsewhere	1,132
TOTAL	35,572

It does not seem as if the Lāds generally have got a dialect of their own. During the preliminary operations of this Survey a dialect called Lādi was reported to be spoken by 500 individuals in the Ellichpur District of Berar. A version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son has been forwarded as an illustration of this form of speech. The beginning of it, which follows, shows that the Lādi of Ellichpur is Eastern Rajasthani, in most respects agreeing with Jaipuri.

[No. 15.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

LĀPL

DISTRICT ELLICHPUR.

Kōnī ēk mānus-ka dui pōrgā hōtā. U-kī mandhun lahān pōrgō
Some one man-to two sons were. Them-of midst-from small son
 āplē bāp-kha kahyō, 'bāpā, jindgī-kō jō mārō wātō āwsī, wō
own father-to said, 'father, property-of which my share will-come, that
 dē.' Mag unē un-kha paisō hissō kari tākyō. Mag
give. Then by-him them-to money share having-made was-thrown. Then
 thōdē diwas-na lahān pōrgō saglō paisō jamā kari dūr dēs-ka
few days-in small son all money together having-made far country-to
 gayō; ānī āplē dhatpanā-na rahisan saglō paisō kharāb kari tākyō.
went; and own impudence-in living all money spoilt doing was-wasted.
 Mag saglō paisō kharch karyā-war unē mulukh-mē kāl padyō. Unē
Then all money spent made-after that country-in famine fell. That
 mulē u-kha phār aḍehan pādī. Mag wō unē mulukh-mē ēk mānus-pās
for him-to much difficulty fell. Then he that country-in one man-near
 rahan-kō gayō; un u-kha dukar charāwan-kha wāwar-mē pathāyō. Mag
living-for went; by-him him swine feeding-for field-in was-sent. Then
 dukar jē phōtar khātō hōtō, u-kē-war u-kō pōt bharan-kha u-kha
swine which husks eating was, that-on his belly filling-for him-to
 wātō, mag u-kha kōnī kāhī dīyō nahī. Mag hōs-mē
it-appeared, then him-to by-anybody anything was-given not. Then sense-in
 āyisan kahyō, 'mārē bāp-kha kitī naukār-kha pōt bharisan
having-come said, 'my father-to how-many servants-to belly having-filled
 rōṭī bhēṭa-chhē, ānī mī upāśī marū-chhē.
bread being-got-is, and I hungering dying-am.'

SĀSĪ.

The Sāsīs are one of the best known criminal tribes. They commonly use the word *bhattū* (in the Panjab) or *bhātū* (Saharanpur) to denote themselves. I cannot suggest any etymology of this name, which is also used by other Gipsy tribes such as the Kōlhātīs. The common denomination Sāsī is replaced by the longer form Sāsīyā in the United Provinces. It has been variously derived from Sanskrit *śāśa*, breathing, or from the base *śraśa*, to fall, to get loose. The former explanation does not give much sense, the latter would perhaps convey the meaning of a fallen, degraded caste, and etymologically *sāsī* might well be derived from an old participle *śraśita*. Others derive the word from *śvagaṇika*, accompanied by a pack of hounds, hunter, or from *śvapāka*, who cooks dogs, out-caste, but these derivations are not possible phonetically. If we consider the fact that the Sāsīs often act as bards, it would also be possible to derive their name from a Sanskrit *śāṃsaika* = *śāṃsin*, reciting.

Sāsīs are most numerous in the Panjab, especially in the districts of Gurdaspur, Amritsar, Lahore, Gujranwala, Sialkot and Gujrat. The total number returned at the last Census of 1911 was 32,481, distributed as follows:—

Panjab	26,990
Delhi Division	3,357
Jullundur Division	1,893
Lahore Division	14,574
Rawalpindi Division	2,000
Multan Division	1,993
Native States	3,083
Other Provinces	5,491
TOTAL	<u>32,481</u>

It is probable that many of these Sāsīs speak the language of their neighbours. Our information about the number of those who speak a separate dialect is very defective. This is partly due to the fact that there are in reality two different things which can be called the Sāsī dialect. In the first place we have a distinct vernacular, specimens of which have only been forwarded from the Panjab. In the second place there is a criminal argot characterised by certain methods of disguising ordinary words so as to make them unintelligible to the uninitiated. Such methods can be applied to words taken from any dialect. Moreover, the returns from the Census of 1911 do not distinguish between the different Gipsy dialects. They seem, however, to show that many Sāsīs have been returned as speaking other dialects. Thus the total number returned for Gipsy languages from the Panjab was only 5,640. The information collected for the purposes of this Survey, on the other hand, must in this case be used with considerable caution. It gives the

number of speakers in Ferozepur as 45,000, but only 360 Sāsīs were enumerated in the district at the Census of 1911. The details of this information are as follows:—

Panjab	48,170
Ferozepur	45,000
Gurdaspur	2,000
Gujrat	1,170
United Provinces	3,380
Saharanpur	3,000
Khuri	380
TOTAL	<u>51,550</u>

It will be seen that this total is considerably more than the number of Sāsīs enumerated in the whole of India in 1911.

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The Sāsīs are to a great extent migratory, and their dialect differs according to locality. Thus the Sāsīs of the United Provinces apparently speak Hindōstānī, while the dialect of their cousins in the Northern Panjab is closely related to Pañjābī. A consequence of their migratory habits is also the use of forms and suffixes belonging to different vernaculars by the same Sāsīs. Thus in the dialect spoken in the Northern Panjab we find the genitive formed by adding a suffix *gā*¹ or *kā* as in Hindōstānī, while the suffix of the ablative is *thā*, which reminds us of Gujarātī. Dr. Grahame Bailey has shown that there are numerous cases of correspondence now with one, now with another Aryan dialect in the speech of the Sāsīs of the Northern Panjab. It might be characterised as intermediate between Pañjābī and Hindōstānī. Such correspondence in grammar cannot, however, prove more than that the Sāsīs have associated much with peoples speaking those tongues. It is quite certain that the stronghold of the tribe is the north of the Panjab, between the Sutlej and the Jhelum. Some phonetical features in Sāsī also point in that direction. Thus the old double consonants, which are so

¹ The postposition *gā* refers us rather to the Bāgrī dialect of Rājasthān than to Hindōstānī. We may also compare *gai*, the postposition of the Dative in the Dardic Māyī. [G. A. G.]

common in the Prakrits, are treated differently in modern vernaculars. They are often retained and a preceding short vowel remains short in Pañjābī, while they are simplified and the preceding vowel lengthened in Hindōstānī and most Eastern languages. Compare Prakrit *ekka*, one, Pañjābī *ikk*, but Hindōstānī *ek*; Prakrit *piṭṭhī*, back, Pañjābī *piṭh*, but Hindōstānī *piṭh*. The Sāsi of the Panjab here marches with Pañjābī; compare *ekki*, one; *nakk*, nose; *hāth*, hand; *piṭh*, back. In the United Provinces we usually find forms with simplified compounds and long vowels. In Saharanpur, however, we find forms such as *mīl*, back; *kanṭhā*, ear; *kuḥ*, eye, etc., which seem to show that the state of affairs is not quite the same as in Hindōstānī. The conditions in Sāsi do not therefore prove anything. More importance must be attached to the existence of a cerebral *l* and a cerebral *n* in Sāsi, for the use of those sounds is characteristic of western languages, such as Marāṭhī, Gujarātī, Rājasthānī and Pañjābī. Such cases of correspondence between Pañjābī and Sāsi are exactly what we would expect, considering where the stronghold of the Sāsīs is situated. The use of an oblique form ending in *ā* of weak nouns, on the other hand, seems to show that there is in Sāsi an element, a substratum, which does not belong to the Panjab, but rather more to the south, where we approach the Rājasthānī and Marāṭhī areas.

We are comparatively well informed about the Sāsi dialect of the Northern Panjab, which has been dealt with by Dr. Grahame Bailey. The remarks which follow refer to it.

Vowels are pronounced as in Pañjābī. Short vowels are sometimes so shortened as to be almost slurred. I have indicated this short pronunciation by means of the sign [~]; thus, *bappā-gū*, to the father. A short vowel before an old double consonant in monosyllabic words becomes half long, but usually remains short if new syllables are added; thus, *akkh*, eye; *kānu*, ear; *bāpp*, father, but *bappā-gū*, of a father. I have marked this semi-length by adding an accent above the vowel. The same accent is used with the sign of lengthening in forms such as *āttā*, coming; *chugḡāc*, to graze; *chḡttā*, wishing. In that case it denotes a peculiar lengthening of a long vowel, which has no parallel in Pañjābī. A similar lengthening of an *i* or *e* occurs in forms such as *kiyyā*, done; *diyyā*, given; *hūccā*, become, when the vowel is followed by a double *y* or *w*, respectively. The pronunciation of consonants is said to agree with Pañjābī. The principal point in which the two differ from Hindōstānī refers to aspirated letters in the beginning of syllables, the aspiration of such words being very guttural, almost like the Arabic *ʿain*. This rule applies to *h*, *gh*, *jh*, *dh*, *dh*, *bh*, *ah* and *mh*. Thus, *hūccā*, become, is almost *ʿūcā*; *ghōrā*, horse, is almost *gʿōrā*, and so forth.

There are two genders, the masculine which is also used as a neuter, and the feminine. The oblique base of masculine nouns ending in *i*, *ā* and consonants, and of feminine nouns ends in *ā*, their case of the agent in *ē*. The nominative plural is like the singular in the case of masculine nouns, while feminines end in *ā*. The oblique plural ends in *ē*. Masculine nouns ending in *ā* change their *ā* to *ē* in the oblique case, to *ē* in the case of the agent, to *ē* in the

nominative plural and to *ē* in the oblique plural. The common case suffixes are,— dative *gū*; ablative *thō*; and genitive *gā*, feminine *gi*, plural *giā*. The usual Hindōstānī suffixes dative *kō*, ablative *sē*, genitive *kā*, *kī*, are used instead in the specimens received from Gujrat, Gurdaspur and Sialkot, and in the United Provinces the inflexion of nouns is the same as in Hindōstānī. According to Dr. Bailey the nominative, genitive and the case of the agent of *bāpp*, father; *kūtā*, dog; and *dhīā*, daughter, are as follows :—

	Singular.			Plural.		
Nominative . . .	<i>bāpp</i>	<i>kūtā</i>	<i>dhīā</i>	<i>bāpp</i>	<i>kūtā</i>	<i>dhīā</i>
Genitive . . .	<i>bāppā-gā</i>	<i>kūtā-gā</i>	<i>dhīā-gā</i>	<i>bāppā-gā</i>	<i>kūtā-gā</i>	<i>dhīā-gā</i>
Agent . . .	<i>bāppē</i>	<i>kūtē</i>	<i>dhīē</i>	<i>bāppā-ōpō</i>	<i>kūtā-ōpō</i>	<i>dhīā-ōpō</i>

These are apparently the regular forms in the dialect of the Sāsīs of the Northern Panjab. They are not, however, the only ones. Thus, a list of words received from the Gujrat District contains forms such as *waḍḍiā-dē pās*, to fathers, with the common Panjābī genitive suffix.

Pronouns.

The following are the regular forms of the personal pronouns :—

	I.	We.	Thou.	You.
Nominative . . .	<i>huā</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>taū</i>	<i>tam</i>
Agent . . .	<i>maī</i>	<i>hamō</i>	<i>taē</i>	<i>tamō</i>
Dat.-Accusative . . .	<i>manā</i>	<i>ham-kō</i>	<i>taū</i>	<i>tam-kō</i>
Ablative . . .	<i>maithō</i>	<i>ham-thō</i>	<i>tēthō</i>	<i>tam-thō</i>
Genitive . . .	<i>māā</i>	<i>māārā</i>	<i>tēā</i>	<i>tuhārā</i>

The demonstrative pronouns are *ēā*, this, oblique base *ēn*, case of the agent singular *ēn*, plural *ēnō*; *uh*, *ōh*, that, oblique base *un*, case of the agent singular *un*, plural *unō*. There is also a pronoun *tiārgā*, the thing or subject under discussion, which is substituted for nouns in order to prevent a stranger from understanding what is meant.

The common verb substantive is *hōnā*, to be. Its present participle is *hōtā*, being, and its conjunctive participle *hōikē*, having been. The present tense is formed as follows :—

Verbs.

Singular	1. <i>haī</i> .	Plural	1. <i>hā</i> .
	2. <i>haī</i> .		2. <i>hō</i> .
	3. <i>hai</i> .		3. <i>haī</i> .

The past tense is singular masc. *thiyyā*, fem. *thiyyī*; plural masc. *thiyyē*, fem. *thiyyiā*; or *siyyā*, fem. *siyyī*; plural masc. *siyyō*, fem. *siyyiā*.

The verb substantive is largely used in the conjugation of ordinary verbs.

Present Time.—The old present is conjugated like the present tense of the verb substantive; thus, *haũ mārē*, I may beat; *barē*, he may enter; *khāāē*, we may eat. The present tense is formed by adding the present of the verb substantive to the present participle; thus, *ham mārē hā*, we are beating, we beat. Several compound tenses are used as a habitual present. Such are *haũ mārā hōtā hā*, I am being beaten; *haũ mārā kartā hā*, I am doing beating; *haũ mārā rihā hā*, I having beaten have remained.

Past Time.—The ordinary past tense is identical with the past participle passive; thus, *haũ gayā*, I went; *tam gayā*, you went. The past tense of transitive verbs is a passive form, and the subject is put in the case of the agent; thus, *hamō mārā*, by us beaten, we beat. Similarly also *maĩ mārā thiyyā* (or *siyyā*), by me beaten was, I had beaten. Other forms of the past such as *haũ mārā thiyyā*, I was beating, are of course constructed actively.

Future.—The suffix of the future is *grā*, preceded by an *ā* in the first and second persons singular and the first and third persons plural. The regular future forms of *mārā*, to beat, are:—

Singular	1. <i>māraṅgrā</i>	Plural	1. <i>māraṅgrē</i>
	2. <i>māraṅgrā</i>		2. <i>māragrē</i>
	3. <i>māragrā</i>		3. <i>māraṅgrē</i>

and *māraṅg*, indeclinable for singular and plural.

Similar forms are found in Maṇḍeālī, Sukētī and Bilaspūri. Compare Maṇḍeālī *māraṅg* or *mārghā*, I shall beat; Bilaspūri *māraṅgrā*, I shall beat.

Imperative.—The imperative is formed as in Pañjābī and Hindōstānī; thus, *mār*, beat; *mārō*, beat ye.

Infinitive and Participles.—The suffix of the infinitive is *ṇā*; thus, *mārṇā*, to beat. Compare Pañjābī *ṇā*, *nā*, Hindōstānī *nā*, Sindhī *ṇu*. The present participle ends in *tā* as in Hindōstānī; thus, *mārā*, beating. The past participle is generally formed as in Pañjābī; thus, *mārā*, beaten; *kahā*, said; though Hindōstānī forms, such as *gayā*, gone, also occur. The conjunctive participle ends in *ī*, *ī-kē*; thus, *jāī*, having gone; *mārī-kē*, having beaten. As in the suffix of the genitive the *k* is often softened to *g*; thus, *āī-gē*, having come; *dēhī-gē*, having seen.

Passive Voice.—Passive forms agree with Pañjābī and Hindōstānī; thus, *haũ mārā jattā hā*, I am beaten; *haũ mārā jattā thiyyā* (*siyyā*), I was beaten; *haũ mārā jāṅgrā*, I shall be beaten.

The two specimens which follow illustrate the ordinary dialect of the Sāsī in Northern Panjab. I owe them to the kindness of Dr. T. Grahame Bailey.

[No. 16.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SĀSL.

ORDINARY DIALECT.

SPECIMEN I.

(Dr. T. Grahame Bailey.)

NORTHERN PANJAB.

Ékki bandē-gē dō pūt thīyyā. Un bichchā nikē
One man-of two sons were. Them among by-the-little
 bappā-gā kahīā, 'bāpp, mālkīyā-gā jīhrā hissa mā-nū
father-to it-was-said, 'father, property-of whatever part me-to
 ātā hai, mā-nū dē. Un appā sārā māl un-kō baṭī
coming is, me-to give. By-him own all property them-to dividing
 dīyyā. Thōrē dinē-gē picchō nikē mūṇḍē sārā kujjh
was-given. Few days-of after by-the-little boy all whatever
 katthā kīyyā tē dūrā-gē dēsā bichch jāi rihā. Oṭhē
together was-made and distance-of country in going stayed. There
 sārā māl bhaiṛē kammē bichch urāi dīnā. Jad
all property evil works in causing-to-fly was-given. When
 sārā kharch karī līnā, us mulkhā bichch harā kāl pariā,
all spent making was-taken, that country in great famine fell,
 tē oh suṛā paṛnē laggā. Tad us mulkhā-gē ékkī ādmīā-gē
and he narrow to-fall began. Then that country-of one man-of
 pās jāi appā. Un appē pailē bichch sūr chugāṇē ghallīā,
near going arrived. By-him own fields in pigs to-graze was-sent,
 tē oh chhīllī jīhrīā sūr khattē thīyyē appā pēt bharnē-gū chātā
and he husks which pigs eating were own belly fill-to wishing
 thīyyā, par kōi nahī dētā thīyyā. Tad hōshā bichch āigē
was, but anyone not giving was. Then sense in having-come
 kahṇē laggā, 'mērē bappā pās kinnē majūrē-gū bahut tūk
to-say began, 'my father near how-many hired-labourers-to much food
 hai, tē haū bhūkhā martā hai. Haū uthigē appē bappā pās
is, and I hungry dying am. I having-arisen own father near
 jāngrā tē us-kō kahṇgrā, "hē bāpp, māī shamānā-gā tē tērā guṇāh
will-go and him-to will-say, "O father, by-me heaven-of and thy sin
 kīyyā, iw is jōgā nahī kī bhī tērā pūt akhwāwē,
was-done, now this worthy not that again thy son may-call-myself,

ma-nū apnē majurē bichchā ēkkī jidā baṇā." Tad uthigē
me-to own hired-labourers among one like make." Then having-arisen
 apnē bappā pās tūriā; tē ōh ajē dūr hī thīyyā ki us-kō
own father near went; and he yet far indeed was that him
 dēkhigē us-kā bappā-gā tars āyā, tē daurigē gal lāyā tē
having-seen his father-to pity came, and having-run neck pressed and
 barā chumiā. Pūtē us-kō kahiā ki, 'hē bāpp, māī
much kissed. By-son him-to it-was-said that, 'O father, by-me
 shamānā-gā tē tērā guṇāh. kiyyā tē iw haū is jōgā nahī ki
heaven-of and thy sin was-done and now I this worthy not that
 bhi tērā pūt akhwāwē.' Bappē apnē naukarē-gū kahiā ki,
again thy son may-be-called.' By-father own servants-to it-was-said that,
 'chāngiā thō chāngī pushāk kadhī lē-āō tē is-kō lāō, tē
'fine than fine raiment having-taken-out bring and him-to put-on, and
 is-kō haththā bichch chhāp tē pairē bichch juttī, tē palē hūwā
him-of hand on ring and feet on shoes, and reared been
 wachchhē-gū lē-āigē halāl karō, ki khāhā tē khushī
calf having-brought killed make, that we-may-eat and merry
 manāwā; kyū, mērā ēā pūt marī gayā thīyyā, iw jīwiā
we-may-make; why, my this son having-died gone was, now come-to-life
 hai; gawān gayā thīyyā, iw labhī pariā.' Tad ōh khushī karō
is; lost gone was, now finding fell.' Then they merry to-make
 laggē.
began.

Us-kā barā pūt paliā bichch thīyyā; jad gharā-gē nēpē āyā,
Him-of big son field in was; when house-of in-vicinity came,
 gaupō tē nachpō-gā wāj suniā, tē ēkkī naukarā thō pūchhiā ki,
singing and dancing-of sound was-heard, and one servant from asked that,
 'ēā kyā hai?' Un us-kō kahiā ki, 'tērā bhāī āyā, tē
'this what is?' By-him him-to it-was-said that, 'thy brother came, and
 tērē bappē paliā hūwā wachchhā halāl kiyyā hūwā hai, is
by-thy father reared been calf killed made been is, this
 wāstē ki rāzī-bāzī labhā.' Un gussā hōigē
on-account-of that safe-and-sound was-found.' By-him angry having-become
 na chāhiā ki andar harō. Tad us-kē bappē bāhr
not was-wished that inside may-go. Then him-of by-father outside
 āigē us-kō manāyā. Un bappā-gū jawāb dīnā,
having-come him-to it-was-persuaded. By-him father-to answer was-given,
 'dēkh innē warhē-gī haū tērī tahl kartā haī, tē kadhī tērē
'lo so-many years-of I thy service doing am, and ever thy

hukmā-gē barkhilaf nahī turīā, par taī kadhi ékk lōlā wī nahī
order-of against not went, but by-thee ever one kid even not
 dīnā ki haū appē yārē sāthth khushī manāē; par jad tērā
was-given that I own friends with merry may-make; but when thy
 ēā pūt āyā jīn tērā māl kanjriē bicheli udāyā, taī
this son came by-whom thy property harlots in was-wasted, by-thee
 us-kē liyyē paliā hūwā wachehhā halāl kiyyā.' Un
him-of for-the-sake reared been calf killed was-made.' By-him
 us-kō kahiā, 'hē pūt, taū sadā mērē pās hai; jō-kujjh mērā
him-to it-was-said, 'O son, thou always my near art; whatever mine
 hai, sōi tērā hai. Par khushī manāgi tē khush hōnā chāhitā
is, that-even thine is. But merry to-make and merry to-be wanted
 thiyyā; kyū, tērā ēā bhāi marī gayā thiyyā, iw jīwiā
was; why, thy this brother having-died gone was, now come-to-life
 hai; gawān gayā thiyyā, iw labbhā hai.'
is; lost gone was, now found is.'

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SĀSĪ.

ORDINARY DIALECT.

SPECIMEN II.

(Dr. T. Grahame Bailey.)

NORTHERN PANJAB.

Mhārē	dō	pir	lagē	jattē	thiyyē ;	ēkkī	gā
Our	two	saints	going-along	going	were ;	one	village
maṅgē	gaē ;	ēkkī	kajjiā	pāsā	dúddh	maṅgiā ;	uṇ
to-beg	went ;	one	female-Jatt	from	milk	was-asked ;	by-her
nahī	dinā ;	uh	turi	gaē,	us-kā	dúddh	lahū
not	was-given ;	they	going	went,	her-of	milk	blood
geā.	Uṇ	kajjiā	dekhiā	ki	dúddh	lahū	hōi
went.	By-that	female-Jatt	was-seen	that	milk	blood	becoming
geā ;	uh	bhī	magar	daṛi.	Uṇō	kihā,	'ja
went ;	she	then	after	ran.	By-them	it-was-said,	'go
bachcha,	tērā	dúddh	usi	tarah	hōi	jāgrā.	Uh
little-one,	thy	milk	that-very	way	becoming	will-go.	She
gharē	āi	tē	dekhiā,	tē	dúddh	usi	tarah
home	came	and	saw,	and	milk	that-very	way
geā	thiyyā.						becoming
gone	was.						
Uṇi	dō	pirē	ēkk	karamāt	kī ;	ēkkī	
By-those-very	two	saints	one	miracle	was-done ;	by-one	
arkā	sāthth	dōph	putti,	bhi	us-kō	riddigē	khāyā,
elbow	with	iguana	was-dug-up,	then	it	having-cooked	was-eaten,
bhi	uṇ	dōjje-gō	kahiā	ki,	'maī	putti,	tañ
then	by-him	other-to	it-was-said	that,	'by-me	was-dug-up,	then
is-kō	bhi	sarā-jit	kar.'	Bhi	uṇ	haddiā	katthiā
it	again	alive	make.'	Then	by-him	bones	together
tē	hāthth	phērige	kahnē	laggā,	'jā	bachcha,	daṛi
and	hand	having-waved	to-say	began,	'go	little-one,	running
jā ;	bhi	uh	daṛi	gāi	tē	sarā-jit	hōi
go ;	then	it	running	went	and	alive	becoming
uṇ	dōē	pirē-gē	nā	Bhalād	Bhagat	tē	Malaṅg
those	two	saints-of	names	Bhalād	Bhagat	and	Malaṅg
Bhalād	Bhagat	Malaṅgā-gā	māmā	thiyyā.			
Bhalād	Bhagat	Malaṅg-of	mother's-brother	was.			

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

Two of our saints were going along. They went to a village to beg and asked a female Jatt for milk, but she did not give it. When they went away, her milk was transformed into blood. Seeing that the milk had been changed to blood, the Jatt woman ran after them. They said to her, 'go home, little one, thy milk will be as before.' When she came home and saw it, then the milk had become as it used to be.

Those two saints did a miracle. One of them dug up an iguana with his elbow, cooked it, and ate it. Then he said to the other one, 'I have dug it up, and now thou restore it to life.' Then he put the bones together, waved his hand and said, 'go, little one, run away.' Then it ran away and became alive again. The names of those two saints were Bhalād Bhagat and Malaṅg, and Bhalād Bhagat was Malaṅg's maternal uncle.

The dialect spoken by the Sāsīs of the United Provinces is not so well known. Specimens have been received from Saharanpur and Kheri. They seem to show that the Sāsīs speak the same language as their neighbours. They are much less numerous than in the Panjāb, and conditions are not favourable for preserving a strange dialect. It will be sufficient to give a short specimen, received from Kheri, as an illustration of the speech of the Sāsīs, or Sāsīyās, as they are here called, of the United Provinces. It is practically Hindōstānī. It is, of course, likely enough that other Sāsīyās speak a dialect more closely related to that illustrated in the preceding pages.

[No. 18.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SĀSIYĀ.

ORDINARY DIALECT.

DISTRICT KHERI.

Jānē-mē	katyā	bachyā	pārē	thē.	Das	rupiā
Winter-in	cows	calves	tending	were.	Ten	rupees
chapwārē-nē	māgē	thē.	Ham-par	nikrē	nāhl.	Ham-kō
sub-inspector-by	demanded	were.	Us-on	were-found	not.	Us
pakar-kar	Mirat	pahōchā	diyā.	Wahā	kaid	
having-seized	Meerut	having-caused-to-reach	were-given.	There	imprisoned	
kar	diyō.	Bayi	hō	gaē.	Phir	Sūrtāpur-kō
making	were-given.	Acquitted	becoming	went.	Then	Sultanpur-to
bhēj	diyā.	Sūrtāpur-mē	char	baras	rahē.	Sūrtāpur-mē
sending	were-given.	Sultanpur-in	four	years	remained.	Sultanpur-in
muñj	aur	rāmbans	kuṭṭi	thē.	Ham-nē	munai-sē yeh
muñja	and	aloe-fibres	hammering	were.	Us-by	Munshi-to this
kahā	ki,	'ham-kō	ek	arji,	yahā-sē	likh dō
was-said	that,	'us-to	one	petition,	here-from	writing give
ki	ham	yā-sē	aur	jagah	basāē	jāē.' Lārat-nē
that	we	here-from	other	place	settled	may-go.' Lord-by
yeh	hukum	diyā	ki,	'yā-sē	nikar-kē	ban-mē
this	order	was-given	that,	'here-from	having-gone-out	forest-in
basāē	jāē.'	Ham	ban-mē	ūē	aur	ban-sē ek
settled	may-go.'	We	forest-in	came	and	forest-from one
mahinē-ki	chhutī	lē-kar	apnē	bētē-ko	mīnē-ko	gaē.
month-of	leave	having-taken	own	son-to	meeting-for	went.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

In the winter I had been tending cattle. The sub-inspector demanded ten rupees from me, and as I had not got them I was seized and sent to Meerut, where I was put in prison. Afterwards I was released and sent to Sultanpur, where I remained for four years, beating *muñja* and *Rām* reeds (for basket work). I said to the Munshi, 'I have a petition. Write that I may be settled in some other place.' The lord gave order that I might go thence and be settled in the jungle. I came to the jungle, and there I took one month's leave and went to see my son.

The specimens printed above illustrate the ordinary dialect of the Sāsīs, especially that spoken in Northern Panjab. As we have seen it mainly agrees with Pañjābī in phonology, while its inflexional forms are intermediate between that language and Hindōstānī; some of the case suffixes being identical with those used in the latter form of speech. I have already mentioned that this partial agreement with Hindōstānī can very well be a consequence of the migratory life of the Sāsīs. At present most of them live in Government Reservations and in circumstances which are not favourable for the preservation of the purity of their dialect.

Formerly their condition was different. In the words of Abdul Ghafur, 'they are professional thieves and very brave.' In order to be able to converse with each other without being understood by outsiders, they have, like other criminal tribes, in addition to their real dialect, devised a criminal variation, an argot or 'thieves' Latin' which they themselves call *Fārsī*, Persian.

This is not, however, a different dialect, but identical with the common speech in phonology and grammar. Moreover, it is not known to all Sāsīs, young children being unacquainted with it. It is based on the ordinary dialect and consists in changing individual words so as to make them unrecognizable. As in the case of European argots, it contains a number of peculiar words, probably picked up from various sources, most of which cannot so far be satisfactorily explained. Dr. Bailey has published a long list of them. Many of them are well-known Aryan words. Others such as *kūkar*, cock, are onomatopœic. Several are based on some metaphor, as is often the case in European argots. Compare *gōlt*, poison used for putting into the food of cultivators' cattle, *lit.* pill; *charāwā*, advocate, *lit.* herdsman; *kūrā*, lower part of leg, *lit.* hoof. Some words are also apparently borrowed from other languages; thus, *bārmī*, woman, wife, might be compared with Sherpa *permi*; *nād*, village, with Kanarese *nādu*, country, Gōṇḍī *nār*, village; *lallī*, night, with Arabic *laila*. The greatest portion of the vocabulary of Criminal Sāsī, however, consists of common words changed or disguised in various ways.

The letters of a word are often transposed. Thus we find *kābrā* instead of *bakrā*, goat; *khūm* perhaps instead of *mukh*, face; *chōmī* instead of *māchī*, shoemaker; *chhāmī* instead of *māchhī*, a certain water-carrying caste; *ṭēp* instead of *pēt*, belly; *ṭiph* instead of *piṭh*, back; *bakat* instead of *batak*, duck, and so on.

The most common device of disguising words is, however, to add a syllable in front, and this addition often entirely supersedes the beginning of the word. Thus the ordinary Sāsī word for 'ten' is *das*. By adding *kha* in front we get *khadas* and finally *khas*, both of which are used in Criminal Sāsī. Similarly we find *bāl*, *khābāl* and *chhābāl*, hair; *pair*, *khapair*, *chhapair* and *nhair*, foot, and so forth. The usual additions of this kind which occur in the materials at my disposal are as follows:—

k added before vowels. With a following *a* it becomes *ku*, *kó*, with a following *ā* *kō*; thus, *kukkhī*, Pañjābī *akkhī*, eye; *kōkkh*, Pañjābī *akkh*, eye; *kundar* and *andar*, inside; *kuggē*, Pañjābī *aggē*, in front of; *kōṭṭā* and *āṭā*, flour; *kōṣh*=*āṣh*, eight; *kōdmī*=*ādmī*, man; *kōnuā*=*ānā*, anna.

kh is also sometimes added before vowels; thus, *khassī*=*assī*, eighty; *khūpar*=*ūpar*, above. More commonly, however, we find the syllable *kha* added before words

beginning with consonants; thus, *khatin*, three; *khadand*, tooth; *khadas*, ten; *khanāk*, nose; *khanau*, nine; *khapair*, foot; *khamoi*, by me; *kharājū*, Pañjābī *rājī*, pleased. The additional syllable *kha* then often supersedes the initial syllable of the word; thus, *khuntā*, an iron and wood instrument for digging, cf. Hindostānī *guntā*; *khas*=*das*, ten; *khaū*=*nau*, nine; *khakk*=*nakk*, nose; *khigalnā*=*nikalnā*, to come out; *khīs*=*bīs*, twenty; *khūh*=*mūh*, mouth; *khikhā*=*likhnā*, to write; *khōth*=*hāth*, hand.

g is apparently used in a similar way, though I have not found more than one certain instance, viz. *gupāhī*=*sipāhī*, soldier.

ch only occurs as a substitute for *b*; thus, *chatānā*=*batānā*, to show; *choti*=*bōli*, speech. It is, however, possible that it can be used instead of other labials. Thus, *chāī*, water, may be for *pānī*; compare Kōlhaṭī *chēnī*. In Western Pāhāṭī, however, we find a similar word *chīs*, water.

chh is quite common; thus, *chhakān*=*kān*, ear; *chhapair*=*pair*, foot; *chhabārmī*=*bārmī*, woman; *chhabāptā* and *bāptā*, father; *chhabhantā* and *bhantā*, brother; *chhabhain* and *bhāp*, sister. This *chh* often replaces the initial consonant; thus, *chhātī*, *chhapūtī* and *pūtī*, son; *chhachh*=*baḥat*, much; *chhattū*=*bhattū*, a Sāsi man; *chhāhar*=*bāhar*, outside; *chhājak*=*balak*, tomorrow; *chhūhā*=*būhā*, door; *chhāhīrā*=*caihīrā*, calf. In all these instances the original word begins with a labial, and Dr. Bailey restricts the change to such words as begin with *b*, and that is no doubt usually the case. In the materials received from Gurdaspur and Sialkot, however, we also find forms such as *chhakān*, ear; *chhangāh*=*gunāh*, sin; *chhaghar*, house; *chhaurat*, woman; *chhakān*, who? *chhakyā*, what? *chhagadhā*, ass, and so forth.

j and *jh* are used in the same way as *ch* and *chh*; thus, *jadā*=*baṛā*, big; *jhūkhā* and *chhūkhā*=*bhūkhā*, hungry.

ḍh is comparatively frequent; thus, *ḍhagal*=*gal*, neck; *ḍhanērē*=*nērē*, near; *ḍhabāp*=*bāp*, sister; *ḍhabāptā*=*bāptā*, father; *ḍhamulḥ*=*mulḥ*, country. In *ḍhāmā*, village, *ḍh* seems to have superseded an old *g*. *D* in *dimuā*=*jimnā*, to eat, is used in a similar way.

n is a common substitute for various sounds; thus, *nālī*=*chālī*, forty; *nōrī*=*chōrī*, theft; *nīriyā*=*chīriyā*, bird; *neōklā*=*chhōkrā*, boy; *nīkaṭ*=*tīkaṭ*, ticket; *nōmbū*=*tōmbū*, a house-breaking instrument; *naukhā*=*dēkhnā*, see; *nāñj*=*pāñj*, five; *nachnā*=*paṭhnā*, read; *nāchhā*=*pūchhā*, ask; *nair*=*pair*, foot; *nāgg*=*pīgg*, turban; *nēṭ*=*pēṭ*, belly; *nōhaṭ*=*bōhaṭ*, heap of grain; *nālli*=*lālli*, night; *nadhūk*=*gandūq*, box; *nāhō*=*sāhō*, sāhib; *naihr*=*shahr*, city; *nūraj* or *nūraj*=*sūraj*, sun; *nāth*=*sāth*, with.

nh is often substituted for aspirated letters and for *s*; thus, *nhē*=*chhē*, six; *nhōḍnā*=*chhōḍnā*, leave; *nhōllē*=*chhōllē*, gram; *nhik*=*thik*, right; *nhānā*=*thānā*, police station; *nhālī*=*thālī*, brass vessel; *nhittā*=*phittā*, abuse; *nhāt*=*sat*, seven; *nhir*=*sir*, head; *nhiknā*=*sikhnā*, learn; *nhis*=*sīs*, head, and so forth.

p does not seem to be much used in this way. I have found it in *pōdnā*=*chōdnā*, to have sexual intercourse with, and perhaps in *pūgi*, fire; *pīrl*, oil, etc.

b is often prefixed to words beginning with vowels, thus, *bēā*=*ēā*, this; *bīuc*=*īuc*, now; *bōtthē*=*ōtthē*, there; *baur*=*aur*, and; *bēk*=*ēk*, one. Before consonants we find *ba*; thus, *bagōllē*, gram; *balūā*, rupee. In *barlāthi*, stick, we have a double prefix *bar*. In other cases *b* replaces an initial consonant; thus, *bōrā*=*chhōrā*, boy; *bādi*=*chādi*, silver; *bēndrā*=*jandrā*, lock; *bīcar*=*jhiār*, water-carrier; *bēydhā*=*saydhā*, male buffalo; *banh*=*sanh*, house-breaking; *baunā*=*sōnā*, gold; *bunyārā*=*sunyārā*, goldsmith; *bindū*, Hindu, etc.

r and *rh*, finally, are often substituted for *k*, *kh*, respectively; thus, *rāthi*=*kāthi*, saddle; *rēpnā*=*kāpnā*, cut; *rāl*=*kāl*, famine; *ruñji*=*kuñji*, key; *rudāh* or *rhadhāi*=*khudā*, God; *rhaphā*=*khafā*, angry; *rhijmat*=*khidmat*, service; *rhēt*=*khēt*, field; *rhāt*=*khāt*, bed, and so forth.

It will be seen from the examples quoted that one and the same word often occurs in many variously disguised forms. Thus we find *khapair*, *chhapair*, *nair* and *pair*, foot; *chhabāptā*, *dhahāptā* and *bāptā*, father; *bagōllē*, *nhōllē* and *chhōllē*, gram, and so on. There is not, so far as we can see, any principle according to which one or the other form is chosen. The use of different letters in order to make a word unrecognizable is, so far as can be ascertained, absolutely arbitrary, and it is impossible to detect any rules regulating the choice between them.

Another way of disguising words is by adding consonants after them. Such additions are:—

k in *chulknā*, to speak; cf. *chōli*=*bōli*, speech. A *kh* has apparently been inserted in the middle of a word in *mikhllā*=*millā*, is being met with.

g is common after *r* in several pronominal forms; thus, *mērgā*, my; *tērgā*, thy; *kēhrgā*, which. It is further added after verbs such as *kauhgnā*=*kahnā*, tell; *rauhgnā*=*rahnā*, remain; *gaugnā*, to go; *gaugā*, went, cf. *gayā*, went. It also occurs in several stray instances such as *kadgi*, ever; *kōggi*, *kōi*, anyone; *chaug*=*chār*, four; *duhāngi*=*duhāi*, appeal; *hukamgā-kō*, the command, and so forth.

th is added in *naūthā*=*nā*, name; *dūrthā*=*dūr*, far; *naīthi*=*nāi*, barber.

t occurs in forms such as *bāptā*, father; *bhautā*, brother; *mautā*, mother; and a double addition *dhre* is used in *jaūdhre*=*jaū*, barley.

p is added after vocalic bases; thus, *dēpnā*, to give; *lēpnā*, to take; *hōpnā*, to become. Similarly *nāhpi*, not. The use of an added *b* is more doubtful. I have noted *lēgbā*=*lagā*, began; and in *chhābrā*=*chhagrā*, goat, *b* seems to have superseded *g* in the middle of a word.

r is added in words such as *dhōr*, two; *thēr*, three. In *jasrna*, go; *asrna*, come, *sr* has been added after the base.

More sporadic interchange of consonants can be observed in forms such as *kumbhlā*=*kumhār*, potter; cf. *neōklā*=*chhōkrā*, boy; *gaunā*=*gādā*, ass, etc.

Abbreviated forms also occur; such are *kōndh*, the dark half of a month; *khōnā*=*khōlnā*, to open; *pāgg*=*pāgrī*, turban.

The preceding examples will have shown that also the vowels are occasionally changed. Thus, *a* and *ā* become *u*, *o* and *ō*, respectively, when a *k* is prefixed; compare *kuggē*, before; *kōdmī*, man. When a *g* is added *a* and *ā* often become *au*; thus, *kauhgnā*, to tell; *gaugā*, went; *chaug*, four. Compare also *bhautā*, brother;

mautī, mother. In other instances an *a*-sound is changed to *ē*; thus, *chēngūā*=*chāngā*, good; *bāyghā*=*goyghā*, male buffalo; *lēghā*=*lagā*, began; *rēkhwaṇā*=*rakhṇā*, place; *rēḥnā*=*kāḥnā*, cut. *I* and *u* are sometimes interchanged; thus, *bīṇḍī*=*buṇḍī*, eardrop; *gupāḥī*=*sipāḥī*, soldier; *kharājū*=*vāḥī*, pleased. An *ē* or *ai* may be changed to *u* or *au*; thus, *khutā*=*gautā*, pickaxe; *aukhūā*=*dēkhūā*, see; *ō* is occasionally replaced by *au* or *eō*; thus, *baunā*=*sōnā*, gold; *uōkḥā*=*chhōkrā*, boy. Other instances of interchange are *baleā*=*billā*, cat; *leōkrī*=*lakrī*, wood; *gāddar*=*gīdar*, jackal, and so forth. All such changes are apparently quite arbitrary. Note also double changes in words such as *khadēpaṅgrā*=*dēngṛā*, will give; *khaniṭṭh*=*piṭṭh*, back; *chulkuā*=*bōluā*, to speak; *chhangāh*=*gūāh*, sin; *ḍhamkīr*=Kashmir; *ḍhumalmān*=Musalmān; *thūb*=*ūth*, camel, and so forth.

None of these changes affects the grammar of the dialect. The inflexional forms remain the same. The individual words alone are changed. Thus many of the pronouns appear in a new shape; compare *khamāṭ* and *maṭ*, by me; *khamērā*, *khamērgā*, *mērgā* and *mērā*, my, and so on. The present tense of the verb substantive is *hōpē*, *hōpē*, *hōpē*, and so forth, or *hōpē* throughout; "I went" is *ganhgā* or *jasriā* and so forth.

It follows from what has already been said that the Criminal Sāsī is not a separate dialect, and that the individual words have no fixed forms. Ordinary words are of course used to a great extent, and the degree in which they are disguised, and the manner of disguising, differ. The specimens which follow will give a good idea of this argot. The first two have been placed at my disposal by Dr. Grahamo Bailey, the chief authority on Sāsī. The third has been received from Gundaspur. The Standard List of Words and Sentences in ordinary and criminal Sāsī, for which I am likewise indebted to the kindness of Dr. Bailey, will be found on pp. 178ff.

[No. 19.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SĀSĪ.

CRIMINAL VARIATION.

SPECIMEN I.

(Dr. T. Grahame Bailey.)

Békki kōdmīā-gē dhōr bōrē thīyyē. Bun bichchā khikē
 One man-of two boys were. Them among by-the-little
 bāptē-gū kauhgiā ki, 'hē bāptē, dhamālā-gā jhrgā khissa mērgā
 father-to it-was-said that, 'O father, property-of what share mine
 asrta hōpē, manūl dēpī nōd.' Bun bun-kō khappā nhārgā
 coming is, me-to giving leave. By-him them-to own all
 dhamāl khabatī nōdiā. Nhōrē khrōjē nichhē khikē bōrē nhārgā
 property dividing was-left. Few days after by-little boy all
 māi natthā kūligē khadūr dhamulkā bichch jārigē rauhgiā,
 property together having-made distant country in having-gone stayed,
 tē bōthē nhārgē naisē nhaijē nammē bichch khalāi nōdiā
 and there all pice evil works in expending left.
 Jad nhārgā nharch kūli linā, bus dhamulkā bichch jadā
 When all spent doing was-taken, that country in great
 dhakāl tawīā. Bōh chhauht naurā tawīā. Tad bus dhamulkā-gē
 famine fell. He very narrow fell. Then that country-of
 békki kōdmīā-gē nās gangā, bun bus-kō khappā nāiē bichch tūndē
 one man-of near went, by-him him own fields in pigs
 nhugānē ghelwīā, tē bus-kī kharjī thī bun taphlē-gū jhrgē
 to-graze he-was-sent, and him-of wish was those foddere which
 tūndē dimtē thīyyē khappā nēt nharē; bus-kō kōi nahī dēptā
 pigs eating were own belly may-fill; him-to anyone not giving
 thīyyā. Bhī nōshā bichch asrigē kauhgnē laggā, 'mērgē
 was. Then sense in having-come to-say began, 'my
 bāptē-gē nās jadē khajūrē-gū chhauht tīmī hōpē, tē haū
 father-of near many hired-labourers-to much food is, and I
 chhukbā lugtā hōpē. Haū khappē bāptē nās jasraṅgrā tē
 hungry dying am. I own father near will-go and
 kauhgaṅgrā ki, 'hē bāptē, māi namānā-gā tē tērgā jadā nasūr
 will-say that, 'O father, by-me heaven-of and thy great sin

kūlā hōpē, biwkē haū his khajōgā nahī hōpē ki kōdmi manū tērgā
done is, now I this worthy not am that men me thy
 bōrā kauhḡē; dhumānū khajūrē jīdā rēkhwi nōḡ. ' ' Bhi
boy may-say; me hired-labourers like placing leave. ' ' Then
 buḡhigē khapnē bāptē nās gaugā, tē bōh khajē khaḡār thīyyā,
having-arisen own father near went, and he yet far was,
 ki bus-kō naukhigē bus-kē bāptē-gū dhrāhm asriā, tē bīḡkigē
that him having-seen him-of father-to compassion came, and having-run
 bus-kō dhagaḡ layā tē chihauht khachumiā. Bōrē bus-kō
him-to neck was-pressed and much it-was-kissed. By-boy him-to
 kauhgiā ki, ' hē bāptē, māī dhamānā-gā tē tērgā nasūr
it-was-said that, ' O father, by-me heaven-of and thy sin
 kūlā, biwkē his khajōgā nahī hōpē ki bhi tērgā bōrā
was-made, now this worthy not am that again thy boy
 rauhgē. ' Bāptē khapnē khaukarē-gū kauhgiā ki, ' nhārē
may-remain. ' By-father own servants-to it-was-said that, ' all
 satthā chēnguē rīchrē lē-asrō tē bis-kō dhalāḡ, tē bis-kā khāthā-gū
than fine clothes bring and this-of put-on, and this-of hand-to
 nhāp tē nhārē-gū paupī, tē tōmē kāngalā-gū lē-asrigē balāl
ring and feet-to shoes, and fat calf having-brought killed
 kūlō, ki dīmā tē nushī kūlā. Mērgā bēā bōrā
make, that we-may-eat and merry may-make. My this boy
 lugi gaugā thīyyā, biwkē khajīwi ṭawīā; gawān gaugā thīyyā,
having-died gone was, now living fell; lost gone was,
 biw khalabhi ṭawīā. ' Bhi bōh nushī kūlō laggē.
now having-found fell. ' Then they merry to-make began.

Buskā jadā bōrā naiḡā biēch thīyyā. Jad khaulē asriā,
Him-of big boy field in was. When house-to came,
 dhagaupē tē khaḡachpē-gā khawāj nhupīā. Tad bēkki
singing and dancing-of sound was-heard. Then one
 khansaukarā-gū chulāigē nūchhiā ki, ' bēā kyā hōpē ? ' Bun
servant-to having-called it-was-asked that, ' this what is ? ' By-him
 bus-kō kauhgiā, ' tērgā bhautā asriā hōpē, tērgē bāptē tōmā
him-to it-was-said, ' thy brother come is, by-thy by-father fat
 kāngal balāl kūlā, khis nāstē ki bōh chēnguā
calf killed was-made, this on-account-of that ' he well
 khalabhi ṭawīā. ' Bōh kharinj hōpiā tē bus-kī kharjī kundar
having-found fell. ' He angry became and him-of wish inside
 jasrō-gi nahī thi. Bhi bus-kā bāptā chhar asrigē bus-kō
going-of not was. Then him-of father outside having-come him

kharajū kūlā laggā. Bun bāptē-gū khwāb dēpiā, 'naukhī
 pleased to-make began. By-him father-to answer was-given, 'seeing
 lēp, khitnē narsē-gī tērgī khatahl kultā hōpē, tē kadhi tērgā khākhā
 take, so-many years-of thy service doing am, and ever thy saying
 nahī nōriā; tē taī kadhi bēk chhābrī nahī dēpi, ki
 not was-broken; and by-thee ever one goat not was-given, that
 khappē 'khōstē nāthth nushi kūlē; jad tērgā bēā bōrā asriā
 own friends with merry may-make; when thy this boy came
 jin tērgā dhamāl bēnjriē biēch lāyā, taī bus-kē
 by-whom thy property harlots among was-spent, by-thee him-of
 liyyē tōmā kāngal balāl kūliā.' Bun bus-kō kauhgīā,
 for-the-sake fat calf killed was-made.' By-him him-to it-was-said,
 'taū nadā mērgē nās hōpē; jihrgā mērgā hōpē, tērgā hōpē. Par
 'thou always my side art; what mine is, thine is. But
 naujā kūlūā tē nush hōpūā chāhitā thiyyā; kyū, tērgā bēā
 merriments to-make and happy to-be proper was; why, thy this
 bhautā lūgī gaugā thiyyā, biwkē jiwī tawīā; gawān gaugā
 brother having-died gone was, now living fell; lost gone
 hiyyā, biwkē khalabhī tawīā.
 was, now finding fell.'

[No. 20.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SÂSI.

CRIMINAL VARIATION.

SPECIMEN II.

(Dr. T. Grahame Bailey.)

Mhârgê dhôr pîr nurê jasartê thîyyê. Békki nádd
Our two saints going-along going were. One village
 chhêngnê gaugê. Békki khêtiâ nâsâ khadúddh chhêngiâ.
to-beg went. One female-Jatt from milk was-asked.
 Bup nahî dêpiâ. Buh nuri gangê, bus-kâ khadúddh
By-her not was-given. They going-away went, her-of milk
 khalahû hôpi gaugâ. Bup khêtiâ nôkhiâ bhai khadúddh
blood becoming went. By-that female-Jatt it-was-seen that milk
 khalahû hôpi gaugâ, buh bhî nichhê bîñki. Bupê kaubgiâ,
blood becoming went, she then after ran. By-them it-was-said,
 'bôri, jasar, têrgâ khadúddh busi narah hôpi jasarâ.' Buh khaulâ
'girl, go, thy milk that-very way becoming will-go.' She home
 asari tê nôkhiâ, tê khadúddh busi narah hôpi gaugâ thîyyâ.
went and it-was-seen, and milk that-very way becoming gone was.
 Bupî dhôr pîrê ôñê bôkk karâmât kûlî Békki
Those-very two by-saints by-them one miracle was-done. By-one
 arkâ náthth dôph nuttî. Bhî bus-kô khriddigê
elbow with iguana was-dug-up. Then it having-cooked
 dîmiâ. Bhî bup nûsrê-gê kaubgiâ bhai, 'maî nuttî.
it-was-eaten. Then by-him other-to it-was-said that, 'by-me was-dug-up,
 taî bis-kô bhî narâjit kûl.' Bhî bup kôddiâ naththiâ
thou this again alive make.' Then by-him bones together
 kûliâ, tê kôthth nhêrigê kaubgnê laggâ, 'jasar khahachcha,
were-made, and hand having-cared to-say began, 'go little-one,
 bîñki jasar.' Bhî buh bîñki gaugî tê narâjit hôpi
running go.' Then it running went and alive becoming
 gaugî. Tê bup dhôrê pîrê-gê naûthê Bhalâd Bhagat tê
went. And those two saints-of names Bhalâd Bhagat and
 Malang thîyyê, tê Bhalâd Bhagat Malangâ-gâ dhamâmâ thîyyâ.
Malang were, and Bhalâd Bhagat Malang-of mother's-brother was.

¹ For a free translation of this specimen, see above, p. 58.

[No. 21.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SÂSI.

CRIMINAL VARIATION.

SPECIMEN III.

DISTRICT GURDASPUR.

Bēki mānkhē-tē dhōr chhabōhrē thē. Khikē-nē bappā-thiā
One man-to two sons were. Younger-by father-to
 kaugiā paī, 'ē bappā, jō mērgiā dhagliā asartā hai chhaīdvi
it-was-said that, 'O father, which my share coming is dividing
 dē.' Jō kuchh thiā chhaīdvi dīnā. Thōrī dīhā pichhūā
give.' What ever was dividing was-given. Few days after
 khikē chhabōhrē-nē nabh kuchh lēpi-kē dūr dhamulkhā-kō
younger son-by all whatever having-taken distant country-to
 chilpiā gōgā. Bōthī jasri jāi raugiā; jērhi dhamāl
walked went. There having-gone having-gone stayed; what property
 thiā, bō bōthī dīni lūā. Jad nabh kuchh rharch kulī
was, that there eating was-taken. When all whatever spent making
 dēpiā. bus dhamulkhā wichh chhaut rāl tauī gangā, hōr
was-given, that country in great famine falling went, and
 chhākhā lūgnē lēgbā, ta bēki rārū khaulē jasri raugiā.
hungry to-die began, and one citizen in-house having-gone stayed,
 Bus-kō tūdhē nageō-nē nhējiā. Bus-kā biyāhi matbal thiā paī
Him-to swine to-graze it-was-sent. Him-of this desire was that
 'jō nhikkar tūdhē dīmtē hōi nhikkar dīmi-kē nhōt nhar
'which husks swine eat those husks having-eaten belly full
 lēpūgā,' paī bus-kō kōi dēptā nāhī thiā. Nhēr bus-nū nhurt
may-take,' because him-to anyone giving not was. Then him-to sense
 asri gangi baur kaugnē lēgbā ki, 'mērgē bappā-kē khabauht khīti
coming went and to-say began that, 'my father-of much bread
 mikhilti thi, haū chhākhā lūgtā haī. Haū kūthi-kē āpnē
being-got was, I hungry dying am. I having-arisen own
 bāptē-kē nhās jasrūgā baur bus-kō kaugrā paī, 'ē bāptē, māī
father-of near will-go and him-to will-say that, 'O father, by-me
 tērgā baur rhadhāi-kā chhangāh kulīā, baur biā khalāiki-kā nāhpi
thy and God-of sin was-done, and this worthiness-of not

ki mungō tērgā chhabōhrā mānkhō kangā. Mungō kuāpnē rāmā
that me thy son men may-call. He own servants
 khawichcha bēk khamjūr chhanēwi lepp." Ib kuāpnē bappā
among one hired-labourer engaging take." Then own father
 nhās khaturi chilpiā. Ōh ajē dārthē thiā, khabappā-kō khadēkhī-kē
near walking went. He yet far-off was, father-to having-seen
 kharāhm asriā, baur dūrkhi-kē chhagā-kē nhāth lōwī lēpiā baur
compassion came, and having-run usck-of with applying took and
 khachummiā. Bōhrē-nē bus-kō kangā, 'rē bāp, māi tērgā
kissed. Son-by him-to it-was-said, 'O father, by-me thy
 ar rhabhāi-kā dhagnāh kūliā. Is khalāiki-kā khunāhī khabhī
and God-of sin was-done. This worthiness-of not nor
 tērgā bōhrā dhamannū kangē. Phabappē kuāpnē khamaukrē-kō
thy son me they-may-call. By-the-father own servants-to
 kangā pai, 'koachchhi dālmā lēpi asar baur bis-kē dāwō,
it-was-said that, 'good clothes taking come and this-on put-round,
 baur khōthā wichchī nhāp chaugāi kharāi dāwī dēpō. baur ham
and hand on ring on-feet shoes putting give, and we
 khadimē ar rhusi kūlā, pai khamērā chhabōhrā lōgi
eating and merry let-make, that my son having-died
 gaugā, khajiwī tawīā; guāchgi gangā siā, khabhī lūhwi tawīā.' Bāp
went, alive fell; lost gone was, now found fell? Now
 bōh rhusi kūlnē lēgbē.
they merry to-make began.

Jadā chhabōhrā rhētā wichchī thiā. Jad khaulē nhās asriā
Big boy field in was. When house near came
 roāchnē-kī khaūāchnē-kī dhawāj nhūnī Khatad khamaukrē-kō
singing-of dancing-of sound was-heard. Then servants-to
 chalōwi-kō nūchhiā, 'hiā chhiā hōpi raugiā?' Bus-nē
having-called it-was-asked, 'this what becoming is?' Him-by
 kangā, 'tērgā bhāulā asriā, baur tērgē bappā-nē khiti dhamāi pai
it-was-said, 'thy brother came, and thy father-by feast was-given that
 kharājū-khabājū mikhli tawīā.' Bus-nē rhabā hōpi-kē khaūāhī
safe-and-sound being-met fell. Him-by angry becoming not
 khachāhiā pai, 'kūndar jārā.' Bus-kē bappā-nē chhāhar asrikē
wished that, 'inside I-may-go.' His father-by outside having-come
 bus-kō chhamanāyā. Bus-nē bappā-kō khajawāb dēpi dinā,
him-to was-entreated. Him-by father-to answer having-given was-given,
 'khadēkh, bitnē nhālē tērgi rhijmat kūtā ribh, baur khatērgi
'see, so-many years thy service doing remain, and thy

hukamgā-kō kadgī khanāhī makhōriā. Pur khataī radi bēk
order ever not was-transgressed. But by-thee ever one
 chhēbriā-kā chhāunā khanāhī dēpiā ki āpnē khadōstā nhāth rhusī
she-goat-of kid not was-given that own friends with merry
 kūlā. Baur jad khatērā biā chhabōhrā asriā khajis-nē khatērā
may-make. And when thy this son came whom-by thy
 khamāl dhāchhiā khawichch khadēwiā, khataī bus-kē khawāstē khīti
property harlots among was-wasted, by-thee him-of for-the-sake feast
 kūlī. Bus-nē kaugiā, 'bē chhabōhrē, khataū mērgē nhās
was-made.' Him-by it-was-said, 'O son, thou my near
 nhāihāi hōpāi, baur jō khamērgā hai, sō tērgā-i hai. Par
always art, and what mine is, that thine-also is. But
 nhusi kūlnī khachāhiti hōpai, khakyū, ēh tērgā bhāutā luggī
merry to-make proper is, why, this thy brother having-died
 gaugā, khajīwi tawiā; dhaguāchi gaugā, baur lēbhwi tawiā.
went, alive fell; lost went, and being-found fell.'

KOLHĀṬĪ.

The Kolhāṭis are a tribe of rope dancers and tumblers in Bombay, Berar and the Hyderabad State. They are said¹ to take their name from Name. *kōlhāṭ*, the bamboo on which they perform. The corresponding Kanarese form of the name, however, is *kollatiga*, which is a compound of *kol-kōl*, a stick, a rod, and *aṭiga*, a player. In the Bombay Presidency they are also called Dōmbārī or Dōmbhārī, which word must have something to do with Dōm, the name of another Gipsy tribe. According to Mr. Balfour they call themselves Bhatū; compare *bhattā*, the name used by Sāsīs to indicate a man of their tribe.

In the Bombay Presidency the Kolhāṭis are also makers of the small buffalo horn pulleys which are used with cart ropes in fastening loads. Occupation. They also make hide combs and gunpowder flasks. When a girl comes of age, she is called to choose between marriage and prostitution. If, with her parents' consent, she wishes to lead a married life, she is well taken care of and carefully watched. If she chooses to be a tumbler and a prostitute, she is taken before the caste council, a feast is given, and with the consent of the council she is declared a prostitute. The prostitutes are not allowed to eat with other Kolhāṭis, except with their own children. Still, when they grow old, their caste-fellows support them.² According to Major Gunthorpe,³ the Kolhāṭis of the Dekhan 'belong to the great Sānsya family of robbers and claim their descent from Mallanūr, the brother of Sānsmal. There are two tribes, Dukar Kolhāṭis and Kam or Pal Kolhāṭis. The former are a non-wandering criminal tribe, whereas the latter are a non-wandering criminal class. Depraved in morals, the males of both tribes subsist to a great extent on the prostitution of some of their females, though let it be said to the credit of the former that they are not so bad as the latter. They labour for themselves by cultivating land, by taking service as village watchmen, or by hiring themselves to villages to destroy that pest of Indian farmers, the wild dog, and above all they are professional robbers. Kam Kolhāṭis, on the other hand, are a lazy, good-for-nothing class of men who, beyond making a few combs and shuttles of bone, will set their hands to no class of labour, but subsist mainly by the immoral pursuits of their women.'

At the last Census of 1911 Kolhāṭis were returned only from the Hyderabad State where they were said to be 1,143 in number. The returns of the Census of 1901 were much fuller, and were as follows:—

Bombay Presidency—

Bombay Town	123
Thana	76
Ahmednagar	588
Khandesh	435
Nasik	383
Poona	384
Satara	334
Sholapur	187
Carried over	2,510

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, ii, 123ff.² *Bombay Gazetteer*, xi, 186.³ *Criminal Tribes*, p. 46ff.

Bombay Presidency—*contd.*

Brought forward	2,510
Akalkot	85
Bhor	7
Satara Agency	19
Belgaum	409
Bijapur	148
Dharwar	380
Kanara	15
Kolaba	306
Ratnagiri	2
Kolhapur	270
Southern Maratha Country	473
Savantwadi	57

TOTAL BOMBAY PRESIDENCY 4,681

Berar—

Amravati	88
Akola	638
Ellichpur	164
Buldana	281
Wani	97
Basim	57

TOTAL BERAR 1,325

Hyderabad—

Gulbarga	1,049
Naldurg	3,022
Hyderabad	67
Nander	88
Sirpur Tandur	491
Parbhani	75
Bhir	229
Aurangabad	385
Indar	1

TOTAL HYDERABAD 6,007

GRAND TOTAL 12,013

Specimens of a dialect called Kōlhāṭī have been forwarded from Berar and also from the Chanda District of the Central Provinces. They all agree in so many particulars that we are justified in talking of a Kōlhāṭī dialect, and there is no reason for supposing that the Kōlhāṭīs of the Bombay Presidency use a different form of speech. During the preliminary operations of this Survey a dialect called Kōlhāṭī was returned from the following districts:—

Bombay Presidency—

Ahmednagar	790
Poona	350
Satara	150

1,290 . 1,290

Berar—

Amravati	127
Akola	640
Ellichpur	200
Buldana	150

1,117 . 1,117

Central Provinces—

Chanda	50	50
	Total	2,367

Authority. A Kōlhātī vocabulary has been published in the following work :—

BALFOUR, EDWARD.—*On the Migratory Tribes of Natives in Central India.* *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. xiii, Part i, 1844, pp. 1 and ff. Note on the "Bhatoos" on p. 12; vocabulary, pp. 17 and f.

Mr. Balfour states that the names of the tribe are Bhadoo, Doomur or Kollati.

Dialect.

Bhadoo is identical with the Sāsi word *bhattū*, a Sāsi man. The corresponding Kōlhātī feminine *bhatānī* means 'wife' and is identical with Sāsi *bhatāpī*, a Sāsi woman. It is tempting to infer a closer relationship between Kōlhātī and Sāsi from this, and indeed, an examination of Kōlhātī shows that it is a dialect of the same kind as Sāsi and connected forms of speech. With regard to phonology we may here note the frequency with which consonants are doubled, while the preceding vowel often is long or half long; thus, *ṣkka*, one; *rakkh*, keep; *khōggā*, house; *ruṭṭi*, bread; *uṭṭhī*, having arisen; *gāḍḍhī*, having taken out; *sātta*, seven; *baddhē*, were bound; *rānna*, ear; *khumma*, mouth; *bhallā*, much. Other phonetical features are of less significance. Such are the occasional change of *ch* to *s* in the Ellichpur specimens; compare *kharsī*, spent; the change of *ḷ* to *y* in Akola, a common occurrence in the current Marāṭhī of the district; compare *vāy*=*kāl*, famine; *muyē* and *mudē*, on account of. The interchange of hard and soft sounds in words such as *ap-sī*, from now; *gāḍḍhī*, having taken out, but *kaḍḍ*, draw, in the Akola specimens may also prove of interest.

The inflexional system is mainly the same as in Pañjābī-Sāsi. We may note the frequent *ā*-termination of the oblique form of masculine bases ending in *i* or a consonant, and of feminines, an important point of agreement with Sāsi; compare *khētā-mē*, in the field; *ārōpiyā-ṭhō*, near the accused; *bhatāniyā-nē*, by the wife. In Akola we find the Gujarātī termination *ō* in forms such as *bāpō*, fathers; *khōggō-mē-si*, from in the house; *kachēriō-mē*, in court.

The case terminations are broadly the same as in Hindōstānī, viz.:—case of the agent *-nē*; dative *-ku*, *-kō*; ablative *-sē*, *-sī*; genitive *-kā*, *kī*, *kē*, *kiā*; locative *-mē*.

With regard to pronouns we may note *hū*, I; *ham*, we, in Akola. In Buldana, Ellichpur and Chanda, we find *mē*, *mī*, I; compare Marāṭhī. In Ellichpur we also find the form *mērē-ku*, to me, which was also used in the Bēldārī of the same neighbourhood. Note also forms such as *jabō*, then, in Akola, which remind us of Rājasthānī.

The conjugation of verbs is mainly the same as in Pañjābī and Sāsi. In the Akola specimens forms such as *kahēngdā*, said, are translated as past tenses. In the list of words, however, we find *hōngdā*, I shall be; compare the Sāsi future suffix *grā*. The future of *mārnā*, to beat, is stated to be *māraṅg* throughout all persons and numbers in Akola. In Ellichpur we find future forms such as *jānēgā*, I shall go; *ballēgā*, I shall say.

The general character of Kōlhātī will be seen from the beginning of a version of the Parable which follows. It has been forwarded from Ellichpur.

[No. 22.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KŪLHĀTĪ.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT ELLICHPUR.

Yakki mankhā-ku dō chhōrē huvē. Dōnō-mē-kā nhannā happā-ku
One man-to two sons were. Both-in-of younger father-to
 balyā, 'happa, jē jingī-kā battā hai, sē mērē-ku dē.' Majē
said, 'father, which property-of share is, that me-to give.' Then
 un-nō jingī battī di. Majē thōdē dinā-sē nhannā
him-by property dividing was-given. Then few days-after younger
 chhōrā sagal gōlā kari mulkhā-war gayā. Aplē jingī
son all together having-made country-to went. Own property
 mastiyē-sī udāi dī, kharsī sari gai. Us mulkhā-mē
debauchery-in wasting was-given, spent all went. That country-in
 badā kāl padyā, u-sattī us-ku aḍchan paḍi. Us waktā-kō us
big famine fell, that-for him-to distress fell. That time-at that
 mulkā-sī yakki mankhā thānē jāi rahyā; unē āpnē
country-of one man near having-gone stayed; him-by own
 khōtā-mē tanjē charāwnē bhēji diyā. O tādē kōndā
fields-in pigs to-lead having-sent he-was-given. Those swine husks
 khōtē thiyē, o khāi pēt bharnō aisā us-ku
eating were, those having-eaten belly should-be-filled thus him-to
 bātyā; us-ku kinē kāi diyā nāi. Majē o
it-appeared; him-to by-anyone anything was-given not. Then he
 sudī-mē āisanē balyā, 'mērē happā-kē gharā-ku mankhā-ku rutti pēt
sense-in having-come said, 'my father-of house-at men-to bread belly
 bhari milti; mī bhukkā martā. Mī ntthī mērē happā-kōnē
filling is-got; I starving die. I having-arisen my father-near
 jānēga, us-ku ballēgā, "ē happā, bindē-kē irud an tērē
will-go, him-to will-say, "O father, heaven-of against and of-thee
 āga mī-nī pāp karyā. Abthunā-sī mī tērā bētā kaynē-kē lāik
before me-by sin was-done. Now-from I thy son saying-of worthy
 nāi. Aplē chākriyē-kē gadiyē-wānī mērē-ku rakkha." Majē utyā,
not. Own service-of labourer-like me keep." Then arose,
 utti happā-kunē gayā.
having-arisen father-near went.

The few Kūlhātīs of Chanda use a similar form of speech. The usual past tense of verbs, however, more closely agrees with Hindōstānī; compare *bōlā*, said; *lagā*, began. Other details will be ascertained from the version of a well-known tale which follows.

[No. 23.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KOLHĀTĪ.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT CHANDA.

Ekka ādmīya-ku dō nhanē laḍkē thīya, ek chhōrā an ek chhōrī.
One man-to two small children were, one boy and one girl.
 Chhōrā thīyā, wō muwā-mē baḍā bānglā thīyā, chhōrī aisi-ch thīya.
Boy was, he face-in very handsome was, girl common was.
 Ekka din wō dō-jhanē chhōrē aīnē-kō najik khēltē thīya. Chhōrā
One day those two-people children glass-of near playing were. Boy
 chhōriya-ku bōltā, 'āya, yē aīnē-mē dikka bhalā nikkī kōn disti
girl-to says, 'O, this glass-in see well good who is-appearing
 ki.' Chhōriya-ku wō nikkā nahī lagā. Us-kō samjhā
what? Girl-to that good not appeared. Her-to it-was-thought
 kī is-nē yē āplyā-ku hināwnē-ku bōlā, Pichhā unē
that this-by this herself lowering-for was-said. Afterwards her-by
 happā-kā najik bhayya-kō gārhanē bōllē. Wō hōlī, 'bappā,
father-of near brother-of complaints were-said. She said, 'father,
 kōynē-mē khum dikhī khushī pūnā, yē bāykā-kā kām; us-mē
glass-in face seeing satisfaction to-get, this women-of work; that-in
 ādmīya-nē man ghālnā nahī.' Bappā-nē, dō-jhanē-kō pētā-sī pākadi
man-by mind to-be-put not.' Father-by both breast-to clasping
 us-kō khushī kiyā. Wō bōlā, 'chhōrēnō, tum laḍhu nā-kō.
her-to satisfaction was-made. He said, 'children, you fight not-should.
 Ajā-sī tum dō-jhanē-bhī dinā-mā aīnē-mē dekhtē jā.
To-day-from you both-even day-in glass-in seeing go.'

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

A man had two small children, a son and a daughter. The boy was very good looking, the girl was of indifferent beauty. One day the two children were playing near the looking-glass. The boy said to the girl, 'come, let us look in the glass to see who is the prettiest.' This did not please the girl. She thought that he did it in order to humiliate her. Then she went to her father and complained of the boy. She said, 'to derive pleasure from looking at one's face in a glass is the business of women; a man should not put his mind on such things.' The father clasped both to his bosom, satisfied her and said, 'children, don't quarrel. I should like both of you to look into the glass every day.'

The word *kōynē-mē*, in the glass, in the Chanda specimen, where a *k* has been added in front of the word *ainē-mē*, reminds us of various methods of disguising words in Criminal Sāsī and similar argots.

Argot.

The specimens received from Akola show that the Kōlhātīs know the use of an artificial language of the same kind. There are in the first place some peculiar words such as *kājī*, woman; *khōggā*, house; *khūm*, mouth, face; *chēnī*, water; *tummī*, head; *taunā*, fall; *thāy*, beat; *ṭicā*, rupee; *ṭhōkuā*, sit; *duṭṭa*, cat; *dhēḍ*, a Mahār (lit. a huge, burly, person); *bhatānī*, wife; *hēṭṭī*, women, and so on. Common words are moreover disguised in various ways, as in other argots.

A consonant is often prefixed or substituted for the initial. Gutturals are used in this way in words such as *kajēṭā*=*bēṭā*, child; *kōkkha*=*ākḥ*, eye; *kōdmī*=*ādmī*, man; *kōhōt*=*hāth*, hand; *khūt*=*ūth*, camel; *khanākka*=*nāk*, nose; *khanajik*=*najik*, near; *khūmbar*=*umar*, age; *khōran*=*haran*, deer, and so forth. It should be noted that after *k*, *kh*, an *a*-sound is often replaced by an *o*-sound, just as is the case in Sāsī.

As in Sāsī and similar argots a palatal is often used as a substitute for a labial. Thus, *chaḍā*=*baḍā*, big; *chhut*=*bhūt*, devil; *(ka)jēṭā*=*bēṭā*, boy; *jōhōt*=*bahut*, much.

ṭh and *ḍh* are prefixed in words such as *ṭhamāl*, property; *ṭhamarnā*, to die; *ḍhōkkal*, a dog.

Of dentals we find *th* in *thēr*, three, and *dh* in *dhōr*, two. Moreover *n* is a common substitute; thus, *nān*=*chād*, moon; *nyār*=*chār*, four; *nōr*=*chōr*, thief; *nāt*=*jāt*, caste; *nāb*=*jibh*, tongue; *nāṭṭa*=*dāt*, tooth; *nusrā*=*ḍusrā*, other; *nēṭ*=*pēṭ*, belly; *nāch*=*pāch*, five; *nōkkaḍ*=*bōkaḍ*, goat; *nihē*=*liyē*, for the sake of. This *n* is sometimes aspirated, when it has been substituted for an aspirate or *s*; thus, *nhēt*=*khēt*, field; *nhūḍ*=*ḍghūḍ*, tree; *nhāmē*=*sāmuē*, before; *nhuriyā*=*suriyā*, sun.

B is prefixed in words such as *bēk*, one; *bus*, him; *bēṭhē-ai*, from here. It replaces an old initial in words such as *bōrā*=*chhōrā*, boy; *bannagar*=*ḍhangar*, shepherd; *bōmnā*=*sōnā*, gold.

R is apparently only used instead of an initial guttural; thus, *ris-kā*, whose? *rēṭṭī*, how much? *rānna*=*kān*, ear; *rāy*=*gāy*, cow; *rāw*=*gāw*, village; *rhup*=*khūb*, well; *rhōḍā*=*ghōḍā*, horse; *rhālō*=*ghālō*, put.

Sometimes also words are disguised by means of additions at the end. Thus *gh* has been added in *gōghā*, went; *rōghyā*, stayed; a palatal has been suffixed in *bānchī*, sister; *nānchhā*, small; *nānchhā*, name; *hōchchē*, is, etc. Other additions are *tā* in *bāptā*, father; *bhāwotā*, brother; *p* in *dēppa*, give; *lyēp*, take; *r* in *dhōr*, two; *w* in *āwotā*, comes; *s* and *sar* in *jāssa*, go; *āsartā*, comes, and so forth.

Further details will be ascertained by studying the specimens which follow. The first is the beginning of a version of the Parable; the second is the deposition of a witness. The Standard List of Words and Sentences will be found on pp. 179ff.

[No. 24.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

CRIMINAL KOLHATĪ.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT AKOLA.

Kōi bēk kōdmī-kō dhōr bōrē hōcheche. Bus-mē-kā nhamnā
Some one man-to two sons were. Them-in-of younger
 bōrā happā-ku kahēngdā, 'bappā, yō mērā thamālā-kā nāttā mu-ku
son father-to said, 'father, this my property-of share me-to
 āsartā, wō mō-ku dēppō.' Jabō bus-nē bunh-kō nhampat nāti
comes, that me-to give.' Then him-by them-to property dividing
 dēppi. Jabō nhōdē dinā-sī nhansā bōrā sab namā
was-given. Then few days-from small son all together
 kariknāi dūr nēsā-mē gōghā, anī wōthē khudādēpanā-sī
having-made far country-in went, and there riotousness-with
 iyā ahi khāplī nhampat khudāi dēppi. Jabō bus-nē
was-taken and own property having-wasted was-given. Then him-by
 sab rharchē-par bus mulkhā-mē chadā rāy tawyā, bus-muyē
all spent-after that country-in big famine fell, that-on-account-of
 bus-ku khudchan tavi. Jad ō bus nēsā-mē-kā bēkkā rarasthā-kē
him-to difficulty fell. Then he that country-in-of one man-of
 khanajik jāik rūghyā. Bun-nē bus-ku khāplē nhētā-mē nhūr
near having-gone stayed. Him-by him own field-in swine
 narāwnē nathāyā. Jad sūr jō narphal khātā thiyā bus-par
to-feed was-sent. Then swine which husks eating were those-on
 khāplā pēt bharnā ēsā bus-kē nilā-mē āyā; ākhin
own belly should-be-filled thus his heart-in came; and
 kin-nē bus-ku kāhī dēppā nāhī. Jad ō nhudī-par
anybody-by him-to anything was-given not. Then he sense-on
 āiknāhī kahēngdā, 'mērē bappā-kē ēthē ritēk nhāldārā-ku
having-come said, 'my father-of with how-many servants-to
 nhar-pūr rōtti miltī, ākhin hū bhukkā-sī thamartā.
belly-full bread is-got, and I hunger-from am-dying.'
 Utthi khāplē bappā-kē baṅg jāngdā wa bus-kē kēhē, 'nō
Having-arisen own father-of near went and him-to said, 'O
 bāptē, mē-nē nēwā-kē khirdi wa tērē nhāmnē nāp karyā
father, me-by God-of against and of-thee before sin done

hē. Ap-sī tērā chhōrā kēhenē-kē hū lāyak nāhī.
is. Now-from thy son saying-of I worthy not.
 Narantu bappā-nē khāplē nakrā-ku kahyā, 'śābut rapdā
But father-by own servants-to it-was-said, 'good cloth
 lāi bus-ku rhallō; ākhin bus-kē kōhōtā-mē khāngōṭī wō
having-taken him-to put; and his hand-on ring and
 gōtē-mē jōdvē rhallō. Jab āpun khāi nēn karaṅg.
foot-on shoes put. Then we having-eaten merry shall-make.
 Kāran yō mērā chhōrā mari gayā thiyā, ō phiriknāi
Because this my son having-died gone was, he again
 jiwā huwā; wō jattā rhiyā thiyā, ō milyā. Jab
living became; he lost remaining was, he was-found. Then
 ō harikh karhī rihē.
they merriment making were.

[No. 25.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

CRIMINAL KOLHATI.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT AKOLA.

Jānu walad Hari, nāt Kolhātī, khumbar baras tis, basti
Jānu son-of Hari, caste Kolhātī, age years thirty, residence
 Kāndī, nēwā-kī ān lī kēhētā kē ājmās pandhrā din huē
Kāndī, God-of oath having-taken I-say that nearly fifteen days become
 hōngē, rōj śukarwār dīn rātī hū wō bhatānī ān dhōr chhōrē
may-be, day Friday day at-night I and wife and two children
 ittē khōggē-mē suktē thīē, Jab dhōr pēhērā-kē rātī-kē
so-many house-in sleeping were. Then two watch-of night-of
 sumhārā-mē mērē bhatānīyā-nē mu-ku jāgī karyā ākhin kibī
approximation-in my wife-by me awakening was-made and saying
 rihī kē, 'khōggē-mē bhāndē bajī rihīpē, ākhin kōdmī-kā chāhāy
she-was that, 'house-in pots sounding are, and man-of noise
 āwtā hē, jāh uṭhī.' Bus-par-sē hū uṭhīyā ākhin bhītī-kē baṅg
coming is, then rise.' That-on-from I rose and wail-of near
 dēkhyā. Jabī bhōk mu-ku dīkhyā. Bus-par-sē mu-ku khās
it-was-seen. Then hole me-to was-seen. That-on-from me-to certainly
 wāṭyā kē kōi-tō-bī khōggā phōḍī māhāy ghūsyā hē.
it-appeared that somebody house having-broken inside entered is.
 Khōggā-mē dīwā nāhī thīyā. Mērē bichhāwnā-tanhē aṅgār-pēṭī thī.
House-in lamp not was. My bed-under match-box was.
 Mō-nē lagēch gāddhī bus-kō pēṭāi. Ittē-mē yō ārōpi
Me-by at-once having-taken-out it was-lighted. This-much-in this accused
 bhītī-kē pādēl bhōkā-ṭhōk jāi-riyā. Bus-par mērī najar gayē-barōbar
wall-of made hole-near going-was. That-on my sight gone-immediately
 mē-nē bus-ku pakadyā, ākhin bus-kā kōhōt pakadyā. Bus-kō kēhōngdā
me-by him-to was-seized, and him-of hand was-seized. Him-to I-said
 kē, 'arē nōrā, katthē chalyā?' Bus-par-sī bus-kī ān mērī
that, 'O thief, where moved?' That-on-from him-of and of-me
 jhōmbājhōmbī khub huī, wō mē-nē khōggō-mē-sī kalhā karyā.
struggling much became, and me-by house-in-from noise was-made.

Bus-par-sī khōggē-kē sējārī-lōk Sitārām wō Iṭhōbā ēsē āyē.
That-on-from house-of neighbours Sitārām and Iṭhōbā these came.

Ittē-mē mērē bhatāniyā-nē diwā lagāyā, ākhin khōggē-kē mähāy-kī
This-much-in my wife-by lamp was-lighted, and house-of inside-of
 sākkayī gāddhī, wō uprē jō isam likhyē vē mähāy
chains were-taken-off, and above which persons were-written those inside
 āyē. Jab mu-ku bhallā jōr āyā; jab is ārōpiyā-ṭhō
came. Then me-to much strength came; then this accused-near

dēkhyē, tō pāch khanna nīkyē. Vē khanna thōṭā ṭivē
it-was-seen, then five bodices came-out. Those bodices three rupees
 kimatī-kē hē. Vē mērē hē, bhatāniyā-kē gaṭhōdē-mē thiyē. Ō
worth-of are. They mine are, wife-of cloth-bundle-in were. That

gaṭhōdā chakkiyā-ṭhōkē utyaniyā-ṭhō thiyā. Is-kē śiwāī nusrā
bundle grinding-stone-near-of jar-pile-near was. This-of excepting other

māl gayā nāhī. Ham-nē thērā-nē bus-kē kōhōt baddhē, ākhin
property went not. Us-by three-by him-of hands were-bound, and

lagēch paṭelā-kē baṅg lī gayē, wō huī bakikat paṭelā-kō
at-once Paṭel-of near having-taken went, and happened account Paṭel-to

kālī. Bus-par-sī paṭelā-nē chaukidārā-kē wō dhēḍā-kē tābē-mē
was-told. That-on-from Paṭel-by watchman-of and mahār-of custody-in

ārōpi-ku diyā, ākhin sabērē-kē pēhēr pōlis ṭhēsan Bārsī-Takliyā-ku
the-accused-to was-given, and morning-of time police station Bārsī-Takli-to
 paṭhāyā. Ārōpi kis rāw-kā hē, bus-kē nāwehā kyā hē, yō
he-was-sent. The-accused which village-of is, his name what is, this

mu-ku mālum nāhī, kārān-kē ō hamārē rāwā-kā nāhī. Diwā lagāwnē-kē
me-to known not, because he our village-of not. Lamp lighting-of

nihē mē-nē aṅgār-pēṭī-kī kāḍī ōḍhī. Ittē-mē ō ārōpi
in-order me-by match-box-of stick was-rubbed. This-much-in that accused

bhōkkā-kē khanaṭik dikhānā. Bus-muḍē mu-ku diwā lagāwtā
hole-of near appeared. That-on-account-of me-to lamp being-lighted

āyā nāhī. Bhīṭī-kē paḍel bhōkkā-mē-sī kōdmī-ku aḍchan-mē-sī jānā
came not. Wall-of broken hole-in-from man-to difficulty-in-from to-go

āwnā awtā. Kachērīō-mē huwā khīḍā jis khīḍē-sē bhīṭī-ku bhōk
to-come comes. Court-in become nail which nail-by wall-to hole

pādyā, ō mu-ku bhōkā-kē najikā-kē nūāwnīyā-mē mīlyā.
was-split, that me-to hole-of near-of bathroom-in was-found.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

I, Jānu, son of Hari, a Kōlhātī by caste, aged thirty, a resident of Kandi, state on oath that, about a fortnight ago, on a Friday night, I and my wife and two children were sleeping in the house. At midnight my wife roused me and said, 'there is a rattling of pots in the house, and footsteps are heard, therefore get up.' Then I got up and on looking towards the wall I saw a hole in it. I then understood that somebody must have broken into the house. There was no light in the house, but there was a match-box beneath my bed. I immediately got hold of it and lighted a match. Then this very accused began to move towards the hole made in the wall. As soon as I saw him, I caught hold of him and holding him by the hand said to him, 'Ah thief, where are you off for?' Then there was a great struggle between him and me, and I cried out loudly from within the house. Thereupon my neighbours Sitārām and Ithōbā came. In the meantime my wife lighted a lamp and unchained the door from within, and the persons just noted stepped into the house. Then I felt much strength. When the accused was searched five pieces of bodice-cloth were found on him. They are worth three rupees. They are mine and were in the bundle of my wife, which was near the jar-pile by the grinding stone. Nothing besides this is lost. We three bound the hands of the accused and immediately took him to the Patēl and informed him of what had happened. The Patēl gave the accused in charge of a chaukidār and a mahār and in the morning sent him to the police station at Barsī Takli. I do not know from what village the accused is or what his name is, for he does not belong to our village. I struck a match to light the lamp, and then I saw the accused at the hole. Therefore I could not light the lamp. A man can with difficulty go in and out of the hole made in the wall. The iron spike before the Court, with which the wall was bored, was found by me in the bath-room near the hole.

GĀRŌḌĪ.

The Gārōḍīs are a wandering tribe of jugglers in the Belgaum District. Their head-quarters are said to be at Miraj near Kolhapur. They are said to have been converted to Muhammadanism about the middle of the sixteenth century, and are looked upon as belonging to the Madārī sect. According to the Bombay Gazetteer,¹ 'the men are middle-sized, sturdy, and dark or olive . . . The women, who like the men are middle-sized, are thin, well-featured, and dark or olive . . . The men are jugglers, tumblers, and snake-charmers. They are hard-working, but are much given to intoxicating drinks and drugs and are poorly clad and scrimped for food . . . Except circumcising their boys they keep no Musalman customs, and are Muhammadans in little more than name.'

The name Gārōḍī or Gārūḍī is derived from *gāruḍa*, a snake-charmer. I have no information as to the number of Gārōḍīs in Belgaum.

Two specimens and a list of Standard Words and Sentences have been received from Belgaum as illustrating the dialect of the Gārōḍīs. It is a rather inconsistent form of speech, and it seems probable that several of the forms registered in the list are incorrect. Thus the future *lugāwāṅgō*, shall beat, is stated to be used in both numbers. In the specimens, however, we find *hapeluṅgā*, let us become. This latter form most closely agrees with Eastern Rājasthānī. On the whole it will be seen that Gārōḍī is based on a mixture of Hindōstānī, Rājasthānī and Marāṭhī. Thus the nominative of strong masculine bases ends in *ō* in the singular as in Rājasthānī and Gujarātī, though we also find *rēmūā*, goat, as in Hindōstānī. The plural and the oblique base end in *ē* as in Hindōstānī; compare *lāucē* (but also *lāucō*), sons; *bhāucē-kū*, to a father. The genitive ends in *kō* as in Rājasthānī. Before an inflected masculine noun we also find *kā*. In the periphrastic present we find *lugū hū*, I am dying, as in Mēwātī, Mālvi, and Mēwāri. The past tense of the verb substantive is *chhō* as in Jaipurī; Marāṭhī forms are *mī*, I; *lāucē*, a child; the common emphatic *ch*, and so on. In addition to all these elements there is also an admixture of Dravidian. It is seen in some words such as *iṅgā*, here; *uṅgā*, there; *nīrmā*, water; *nānd*, house, village, etc., in the frequent use of adverbial and relative participles such as *hāyilōlō*, when coming; *hāyilandē*, coming; *bētēsō*, eaten, and so forth.

It would, however, be useless to go into further details. The mixed nature of the dialect will be sufficiently apparent from the specimens.

Like other Gipsy tribes the Gārōḍīs try to make their speech unintelligible by using strange words or else by disguising ordinary words in various ways. Some of the unusual words found in the specimens are *aldī*, whip; *bēt*, eat; *bōngā*, gold; *chisam*, good; *chōnō*, name; *dhamuklō*, belly; *dhikmō*, slave; *dharālī*, iron; *dhāyṭī*, property; *dghalwītū*, harlot; *dghāmī*, midnight; *dhangī*, a bulbous root; *gōnō*, hand; *gōnālī*, foot; *ghuruknā*, swine; *jachan*, diagnose; *kāfā*, man; *kanēchī*, eye (cf. Tamil *kaṇa*); *khōmḍā*, mouth; *kāṇsō*, bull; *kāyṭī*, ailment; *lug*, die; *lugā*, beat; *mallā*, garden; *nimal*, run, loose; *nānd*, house, village; *nāḥyā*, wife; *nīrmā*, water; *panēchī*, back (cf.

¹ Vol. xii, pp. 224 & f.

Kanarese *bennu*); *tabēt*, health; *ṭap*, fall; *ṭōk*, say; *ṭōlchō*, head (cf. Kanarese *talē*); *ṭhīg*, sit; *walā*, give, and so on.

Ordinary words are sometimes disguised by means of a simple transposition of the letters; thus, *dabō*, big; and perhaps *ṭap*, fall. Occasionally we find aspiration or disaspiration of consonants; thus, *ghāyilē*, they went; *ṭhailkanā*, having taken; *nākyō*, threw.

In many cases a consonant has been prefixed or substituted for the initial of a word. *Kh* is used in this way in words such as *khadmī*, man; *khūpar*, above; *khut-kō*, having arisen; *khōyid*=*baid*, doctor. In *gāndilō*, silver, *g* is similarly used instead of *ch*, and in *rēmṇā*, goat, *r* for *m*.

Ch is, as in many similar argots, used instead of *h* in words such as *chulānu*, to call; *chōṭai*, word, state. Note *chirwānd*, bind. In *jilātī*, cat, *j* has been used in a similar way, cf. *bilādī*. *Dzh* is a more common substitute; compare *dzhichādī*, behind; *dzhukāyit*=*bhūkh*, hunger; *dzhail-kanā*, having gone; *dzhapplī*, shoe, sandal; *dzhupār*, afternoon (cf. *dō pahār*), and so on. A *t* has been substituted for a *p* in *ṭikad*, seize. The initial *dh* in *dhamuklō*, belly; *dhikmō*, slave, is probably of the same kind. The syllable *tur* in *turcālē*, hair, is apparently also an addition made in order to disguise the word, or else it may be a disguised *air*, head. Other consonants used in a similar way are *n* in *nētyā-kō*, to the fields; *l* in *lipadā*, cloths; and, cockney way, *h* in *hāyil*, come; *hust*, camel.

Another way of disguising words is by means of additions at the end. Such additions are,—

k in *bhēkdā*, brother; and *g* in *bōngā*, gold; compare, however, Kanarese *baṅgāra*; *ch* in *kanēchī*, eye; *kānēchī*, ear; *chandichī*, moon; *bhanichī*, sister; *nhanchō*, small, etc.;

ṭ in *ghōṛṭō*, horse; *ḍ* in *khagāḍī*, before; *khōmḍā*, mouth; *dāḍwā*, tooth; *bhēkdā*, brother, etc.;

t in *dzhukāyit*, hunger;

p in *chapēlyō*, was; *hapē-nā*, am not;

m in *ek-mū*, one; *dul-mū*, two; *kitmū*, how many? *bhutmū*, devil; *dēmā*, god; *tōḍmō*, I broke; *thudmō*, few; *karmel*, do; *sunmel-kā*, having heard, etc.

l in *karēlyō*, did; *karmel*, do; *ghalel*, put; *ghāyilē*, went; *chalēlō*, went; *jagāyilyō*, waked; *dzhāyil*, go; *batul-kā*, dividing; *rakellō*, keep; *sunel-hāyilyō*, hearing came, was heard; *sunnel-kā*, having heard; *hāyilyō*, came; *dulmū*, two, and so forth. Similarly we find *ṭ* in words such as *nachlan*, dancing; *mōklō*, relief.

Finally we find *s* added in *kharsā*, ass.

By means of all these additions the argot of the Gārōḍis gets a peculiar appearance. Further details will be ascertained from the specimens which follow. The first is a version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, the second is an incomplete version of a well-known tale. The Standard List of Words and Sentences will be found on pp. 179ff.

[No. 26.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

GARŌDĪ.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Ekmū kājā-kū dūlmū lāwdē chhō. Yē-kē mhayi nhanchō lāwdō
One man-to two sons were. Them-of among younger son
 āplyō bhāwutē-ka tōkyō, 'bhāwutē, tērō dhāyti-mā-si ma-kū hāyilāndē
own father-to said, 'father, thy property-in-from me-to coming
 bātō ma-kū walā.' Bhāwutō yē-kē mhayi āplyō dhāyti bātāl-kā
share me-to give.' Father them-of among own property dividing
 walai. Nhanchō lāwdō āplyō bātō lhail-kanā dūr mulūk-kū
gone. Younger son own share having-taken far country-to
 dzhūil-kanā bharkum dīn hoyilē-nā, ō-mā-ch wō dund hō-kanā
having-gone many days became-not, that-in he riotous having-become
 āplyō dhāyti sab ghālā nākyō. Ō hē karēlētō wā
own property all throwing was-lost. He so doing that
 mulūk-ma dabi dzhūānjli tap-kā ō-kū wanwās hāyilyō. Ō
country-in big famine having-fallen him-to poverty became. He
 wā dēs-kā ekmū khadmī kan tsākri rhapēlyō; ē khadmī
that country-of one man near in-service remained; that man
 ō-kū ghuruknā charāpē-kū nētyā-kū lagā-dhailyō. Ungā dzhukāyit-si
him seine feeding-for fields-to was-sent. There hunger-from
 kalmal hōyil-kan ghuruknā bētēsō bhussō hī bēt-kō
exhausted having-become swine eaten husks even having-eaten
 dhamuklō bharlē-chhō, lēkhin ō-kū koyi-kan-si kujī-ch milēchh-nā.
belly filling-was, but him-to anybody-from anything-even was-got-not.
 Aisē thudmē dīn ghāyilē, āplyō dzhichālī chōlnī yād hō-kanā
So few days passed, own former state memory having-become
 ō āplyō man-ma tōkyō, 'mērē bhāwutē-kanā chhōtō kitmū
he own mind-in said, 'my father-near being how-many
 tsākriwālā-kū dhamuklā bhar-kā jāstī bētnī mil-chhī; mī-tō-
servants-to bellies having-filled more food got-is; I-on-the-other-
 bī ungā dzhukāyit-si lugū-hū. Mī khuṭ-kō-nā mērō bhāwutē-kanā
hand here hunger-from dying-am. I having-arisen my father-near
 dzhūyil-kē tōkyō, "bhāwutē, mī dēmā-kā pāp bhāwutē-kā pāp
having-gone said, "father, by-me God-of sin father-of sin

chirwānd-kā hyō. Mi tērō lāwdō kar-kō tōknē-kā chisam
having-tied was-taken. I thy son having-said saying-for fit
 hape-nā. Ma-kū tērō-kanā ekmū naukar-wāni rakhel-lē." Aśō
am-not. Me of-thee-near one servant-like keep." So
 tōk-kanā uṅgā-si khut-kanā āplyō bhāwutē-kanā hāyilyōtō bhāwutō
having-said there-from having-arisen own father-near came-when father
 dūr-si ō-kū charch-kanā mayā hāyil-kanā nimal-kā dzhāyil-kanā
far-from him having-seen pity having-come having-run having-gone
 tikaḍ-kanā chummi wolīyū. Tab lāwdō bhāwutē-kā tōkyō,
having-embraced kiss was-given. Then son father-to said,
 'bhāwutē, mi tērē khagāḍi dēmā-kē khagāḍi chūk karēlyō. Tū
'father, by-me of-thee before God-of before sin was-done. Thou
 ma-kū tērō lāwdō kar-kā chulāwu hape-nā.' Ō-kī bhāwutō
me thy son having-made to-call is-not.' This-to father
 āplyō naukar-kū tōkyō. 'chisam lipaḍā hāyil-kanā mērē lāwdō-kā walāw;
own servants-to said, 'best robe having-taken my son-to give;
 gōnē-ma khaṅgti ghalel, gōnāli-ma dzhayappli ghalel; bētni tayārī
finger-on ring put, fest-on shoes put; dinner preparation
 karmel; ham bēt-kanā khuṣī hapelūṅgā; kaikētō yē mērō lāwdō
make; we having-eaten merry shall-become; because this my son
 lug ghailyō chhō, phir-kanā dam hāyilyō; nimal ghailyō chhō-sō,
dead gone was, again life came; lost gone being,
 milyō.' Yō sunel-kanā sab khadmi khuṣī hapellyō.
was-found.' This having-heard all men glad became.

Yā bakhat-kū ō-kē ḍabō lāwdō nātyā-ma chhō. Ō nānd-kanā
This time his elder son field-in was. He house-near
 hāyilētō ō-kū gīd haur nachlan sunel hāyilyō. Ō
coming-when him-to song and dancing to-hear came. He
 tsākriwālē-ma ekmū-kū chulā-kan, 'yō kē hapel?' aśō tōkyō.
servants-among one-to having-called, 'this what is?' so said.
 Ō-kū wa-nā tōkyō, 'tērō bhēkḍā hāyilyō hāyi, ē chisam-si
Him-to him-by it-was-said, 'thy brother come is, he well
 hāyilē kar-kā tērē bhāwutē-nā bētni karēli hāyi.' Itmu
came having-said thy father-by dinner made is.' This
 sunel-kanā wā ḍabā lāwdō ghusi-kū hāyil-kū mhayi ghailē-nā.
having-heard that elder son anger-to having-come inside went-not.
 Ō-kī wāstē ō-kē bhāwutē-nā bhāyir hāyil-kanā, 'mhayi-hāyil.'
That-of for-the-sake his father-by outside having-come, 'inside-come,'
 kar-kā tā-kū bharkum ājji karēlyō. Ō-kī ō āplyō
having-said him-to much entreaty was-made. That-to he own

bhāwutē-kī tōkyō, 'mī itmā baras tak tēri tsākri karel-kanā
father-to said, 'I so-many years up-to thy service having-done
 tēri chōlpi kabī tōdmē-nā. Lēkhin mī mērō dōs-kū lhail-kanā
thy word ever broke-not. But I my friends having-taken
 bētnī karelnē-kē wāstē tū kabī ma-kū ekmā rēmnā-bī
dinner making-of for-the-sake thou ever me-to one kid-even
 walāy-nā. Džhalwātñi-kā saṅgat karel-kanā tērō dhāyti sab
gavest-not. Harlots-of company having-made thy property all
 niṅgaḷ-liyōsō yō tērō lāwdō nānd-kū bāyilyō barābar tū ō-kē
devouring-taking this thy son house-to came immediately thou him-of
 wāstē bētnī karēlyō.' Bhāwutē-nā lāwdō-kē tōkyō, 'tū
for-the-sake dinner modest.' Father-by son-to it-was-said, 'thou
 har-gaḍi mērō saṅgat rhaṇelā; mērō-kan hapēlāsō sab tērō-ch
all-time of-me in-company art; of-me-near being all thine-alone
 hāyil. Luggōsō tērō bhākḍā, phir-kā dam bharēlyō; nimal ghāilyō
is. Dead-being thy brother, again life filled; lost gone
 chhōsō, milēlyō. Aisō ham khuṣi hōyilnē-kē chisam hapelā.
being, was-found. So we happy to-become good is.'

[No. 27.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

GARODI.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Ajar dzhāyilnē-kē bhōlō upāw. Ekmā nānd-ma ekmā jābō
Indigestion going-of simple remedy. One town-in one big
 kājā chhō. Ō har-gaḍi bharkum bēt-kanā thigyāsō jāgā-pa thigyō
man was. He every-time much having-eaten sitting place-in sitting
 chhō. Kōusē-ch tarā-si kaishī kareḷ chha-nā. Ō-kī wāstē ō-kē
was. Any-even kind-of labour doing was-not. That-of for-the-sake his
 āng-ma kabī-tō hī sustī hāyil-chhī. Ekmā dīn ō kājā
body-in sometimes also indisposition coming-was. One day that man
 āplyō dōs-kē nānd-kū bētnē-kū ghailyō chhō. Ūngā bharkum bēt-
own friend-of house-to eating-for gone was. There much having-
 kanā dzhāmī-tak jāgāyilyō. Ō-kī wāstē sakāl ō-kā
eaten midnight-till waked. That-of on-account next-morning him-to
 bharkum ajar hō-gaili. Ō bhakhat-kū ō tabēt charch-kanā hāyil
great indigestion became. That time-at he health having-examined come
 kar-kā gāḍī-kē khūpar chad-kan khōyid-kē nānd-kū ghailyō.
having-said carriage-of upon having-mounted doctor-of village-to went.
 Khōyid-nā ō-kē gōnō charch-kanā kāyī-kī jāchan kareḷ-kanā
Doctor-by his hand having-examined disease-of examination having-made
 tōkyō. 'bāwā, īngā-si dūlmū kōs-pa, ekmū mallē-ma yā kāyī-kū
said, 'Sir, here-from two kōs-in one garden-in this disease-for
 wālānē-kī dzhangī hapelā. Khūsi-sē āngā-tak hāyiltō ō khupad-kan
giving-of bulb is. Kindly there-to come-if that having-rooted-up
 wālāñ. Ō-kī wāstē dzhāpār-kē mhayī tērē kāyī dzhāyil-kē
I-may-give. That-of on-account afternoon-of in thy disease having-gone
 mōklō hapēlahgō. Itmū sunmel-kā kājā-nā tōkyō, 'mērō
relief will-become. This-much having-heard man-by it-was-said, 'my
 gāḍī tayār hōyil-kā rhapeli. Hāyil, āngā-tak dzhāyil-kanā
carriage ready having-become stands. Come, there-to having-gone
 hāyilānā. Itmū tōk-kanā, ō wā khōyid-kē barābar gāḍī-ma
let-us-come. This-much having-said, he that doctor-of with carriage-on

chad-kan chālē. Nānd-kanā-si dūlmū kōs dzhayil-kanā khōyid-nā
having-mounted went. House-near-from two kōs having-gone doctor-by
 gōnē-mā-ki alji hōnūkar-kā tamā nakhil diyū.
hand-in-of whip intentionally down throwing was-given.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

A simple remedy for indigestion.

There lived in a town a rich man who always ate much and was given to sedentary habits. He took no kind of exercise, and therefore he now and then suffered from indisposition. One day he went to dine with a friend. He ate a lot and stayed up till midnight. Consequently he had a bad fit of indigestion the next morning. Therefore he drove over to the doctor's to have his disease diagnosed. The doctor felt his pulse, diagnosed his disease and said, 'in a garden about two *kōs* from here there is a bulbous root which is a specific for your disease. If you please, follow me there, and I shall have it dug out. Then your ailment will cease in the afternoon and you will get relief.' Hearing this the man said, 'my carriage is ready, come, let us go there.' After having said so he drove along in company with the doctor. When they had gone on about two *kōs* from the town, the doctor intentionally dropped the whip.

MYÄNWÄLĒ OR LHÄRI.

The word *Myänwälā* means a scabbard-maker. No information is available about the people who bear the name. Specimens of their dialect have been forwarded from the Belgaum District. The names given to this form of speech is *Myänwälē* or *Lhāri*. *Myänwälē* is simply the plural form of *Myänwālā*. *Lhāri* probably represents a rapid pronunciation of *Lōhāri*, the language of the *Lōhārs*. At the last Census of 1911, 817 *Lōhārs* were enumerated in Belgaum. It is not, however, probable that the so-called *Myänwälā* is the language of all the *Lōhārs*; it is probably only spoken by a small section.

The base of *Myänwälē* is *Dakhanī Hindōstānī* and *Rājasthānī-Gujarātī*. Thus, strong masculine bases end in *ō* in the singular as in the latter, and in *ē* in the plural as in the former. The distinction between singular and plural forms is, to judge from the conjugation, of little importance; compare *lōtūngō*, he will beat, they will beat. Forms such as *hōtēādīyā*, they went, show that the termination *ē* is not the only one in the plural of strong bases; the *Rājasthānī-Gujarātī* termination *ā* must be used as well. Of case terminations we may note dative *kū* as in *Mālvī* and *Dakhanī Hindōstānī*, genitive *kū* as in *Mālvī* or *kā* as in *Hindōstānī*; and locative *mē* as in *Mālvī* and *Hindōstānī*, or *mā*, cf. *Gujarātī mā*. There does not appear to exist a separate case of the agent, the nominative being used to denote the subject even if the verb is the past tense of a transitive.

"I" is *mē* as in *Bundēli*, and "we" is *hamē*, cf. *Gujarātī amē*.

The conjugation of verbs does not appear to be correctly represented in the list of words, where we find forms such as *kū* for all persons and numbers of the present tense of the verb substantive and *lōtū* for the corresponding forms of *lōt-nā*, to beat. Forms such as *lug-nālō*, dying go, I die; *chōkō*, thou art; *hōbrē*, is, show that the present tense is formed like the old present in *Mālvī*. The past tense ends in *ō* or *yō*; thus, *chōhēcādīyō*, said; *lōtō*, struck. The future is formed as in *Hindōstānī* but with the singular ending in *gō* as in *Eastern Rājasthānī*; thus, *rhaungō*, I shall be; *hōbrangē*, we shall become. In the list of words forms such as *lōtūngō*, I shall beat, are used in all persons and numbers.

Other forms mainly agree with *Hindōstānī* and *Rājasthānī-Gujarātī*. Note the relative participle in *sō*, as in *duṭsō*, eaten; *hōbrēsō*, being; the use of *karke*, *karkō*, having done, corresponding to the Sanskrit *iti*; and the negative *jīn* in *chulāvō jīn*, do not call; for the last, compare *Kanaujī* and *Eastern Hindī*.

Myänwälē is, to judge from the specimens, an artificial argot built up on this base. There are some peculiar words such as *haruēāl*, come; *bēt*, take; *ohhēgē*, preparation; *chāuman*, see; *chīgīl*, run; *chōyīl*, water; *chundaṭī*, ring; *ḍamōlō*, man; *ḍāmī*, woman; *duṭ*, eat; *gēlō*, *gēlpō*, boy; *jukālā*, dog; *kichī*, fire; *khīch*, give; *khōk*, house; *lugāḍā*, to break; *lugīl*, die; *lōt*, strike; *nānd*, village; *nīrō*, good; *nōkālō*, name; *rhāklō*, brother. Some of these such as the base *bara*, to come; *nānd*, village (*Kanarese nāḍu*), seem to be *Dravidian*. Others are comparable with similar words in other argots.

Ordinary *Aryan* words are, moreover, disguised in various ways so as to make them unintelligible to outsiders. Sometimes a vowel is changed or an aspirated consonant disaspirated; compare *pēsū*=*pās*, near; *nuchō*=*pūchhā*, asked; *ripchē*=*pīchhē*, behind. More commonly an initial consonant is changed or a consonant prefixed.

K is substituted in *hurgā*, swine; compare *sūār*.

Kh has been prefixed in words such as *khādmī*, man; *khagādi*, before; *khāpñō*, own; *khutñē-mē*, in the meantime; *khēk*, one; *khidēw*, god; *khirañā*, harlot. In *khulke*, having ssid, it has replaced an old *ō*, and so on.

A *g* has been substituted for other initials in *gipaḷā*=*kaprā*, clothes; and perhaps in *gēlō*, boy, cf. *bētō*.

As in similar argots *ch* and *chh* are often substituted for labials. Compare *chadḍō*=*baḷā*, big; *chōnd*=*bāndh*, tying; *chhīl*=*bhar*, filling; *chhuk*=*bhūkh*, hunger; *chhurgā*=*murgū*, cock.

Dh is prefixed as in similar argots; compare *dhākō*=*kākā*, uncle; *dhimlē*=*mīlā*, was got; *dhunabī*=*knubī*, a cultivator; *dhētyā*, compare *bhērā*, a kid.

N is a very common substitute. It replaces a guttural in *nusāl*, merry; *narībī*, poverty; *nusā*, angry; a palatal in *nākar*, servant; *nūk*, sin; a dental in *nōs*, friend; a labial in *naḍ-ke*, falling; *nāp*, sin; *nir-ku*, again; *nirāw*, put on; *nirādē* (*firyādi*), complainant; *narābar*, immediately; *nāl*, state; *naras*, year; *nīlar*, inside; *nan*, mind; an *h* in *nakhikat*, facts. It has been substituted for an *s* in *nabaḷo*, all; compare *sab* and *sagla*. Instead of *s*, however, we more commonly find *nh*; thus, *nhankaf*, difficulty; *nhun-ke*, hearing; *nhuriyā*, sun. *Nh* is also used as a substitute for aspirated consonants in *nhēt*, field; *nhūa*, chaff; *nhōknō*, small.

B has been substituted for *l* in *bētō*, took; and for *s* in *bunakke*, to be heard (note the Dravidian termination). A *b* has been replaced by an *m* in *māwutō*, father, probably under the influence of *māwutī*, mother.

R is also a common substitute, especially for labials; thus, *rikan*, ear; *rāfō*, share; *rāl*, hair; *ripchē*=*pichhē*, behind; *rhāklō*=*bhāi*, brother; *rhār*, outside. *Rhāklō*, brother, is, however, perhaps connected with the European Gipsy word *rāklō*, boy.

Another device of disguising words is by means of various additions at the end, which then often replace an old final.

Thus a *k* is added in *rhōkē*, art; *niskō*, head; and a *kn* in *nhōknō*=*chhōfā*, small. If *rhāklō*, brother, is derived from *bhāi*, a *k* has been added.

An additional *g* occurs in words such as *chōg*, four; *dūg*, far; *dōg*, two, and so on. A *ch* is used in a similar way in words such as *kichō*, did; *ghōdchō*, horse.

An addition *ī* is used in some intransitive verbs; thus, *chīgī*, run; *nukīfō*, lost; *barīfō*, came; *lugīfō*, dead. A *ḍ* is added in *khagādi*, before. I may here add the suffixes *ōḍ* and *acāḍ* in verbal forms such as *natōḍ*, dividing; *rakhōḍ*, keeping; *ghalōḍ*, put; *baracāḍī*, she came; *rhōkwāḍō*, stayed; *hīfāḍyā*, they passed.

A *t* has been added in words such as *bēt*, take; *māwutō*, father, etc. The *p* in *gelpō*=*gēlō*, boy, must be a similar addition.

An *l* or *l* is apparently added or substituted for another final in words such as *gēlō*=*bētā* (?), boy; *dhētyā*, kid; compare *bhērā*, ram; *chhīl*=*bhar* (?), filling; *kōl*=*kar*, doing (compare Sāsī *kūl*); *gawalnō*, singing, and so on.

The *bar* in *hōbar-ke*, having been, and so on, is probably a similar addition.

Further details will be ascertained from the specimens which follow. The first is a version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, the second a popular tale. The Standard List of Words and Sentences will be found on pp. 179ff.

[No. 28.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

MYĀNWALE on LHĀRI.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Khēk ḍamōlō-kū dōg gelpē hī. Wā-mē nhōknō gelpō
One man-to two sons were. Them-among younger son
 khāpnō māwutē-kū khulwādyō, 'māwutō, tērō jingāni-mē mā-kū barōsō
own father-to said, 'father, thy property-in me-to coming
 rātō mā-kū khich.' Māwutō wā-mē khāpnō jingāni natōd-bētō.
share me-to give.' Father them-among own property divided.
 Nhōknō gelpō khāpnō rātō bēt-ke dūg mulūk-kū hit-ke chhōt
Younger son own share having-taken for country-to having-gone many
 dīn nāī hōbrē khutnē-mē ū dund hō-bar-ke khāpnō jingāni
days not became this-much-in he riotous having-become own property
 nabaḷō narab kōl kichī. Ū wāsarē kōlī khājar wā
all evil doing war-done. He so having-done after that
 dēs-mā chaḍḍō ḍakāl naḍ-ke wā-kū naribī barawāḍī. Ū wā
country-in big famine having-fallen him-to poverty came. He that
 dēs-kā khēk ḍamōlō khurē nākri rhōkwāḍō. Ē ḍamōlō wā-kā
country-of one man near in-service remained This man him
 kurnā narāṇē-kū khāpnō nhēt-ku nhandā-kichō. Ūtthā chhukē-sī
swine grazing-for own field-to sent. There hunger-from
 nhankat hōbar-ke kurnā ḍutōsō nhūs-bī dut-ke rēpaṭ chhil
pangs having-become swine eaten husks-even having-eaten belly full
 bētō-tō, lēkin wā-kū kun-kē pēsō-sē kuch-bī nāī ḍhīmlē.
taking-was, but him-to anybody-of near-from anything-even not was-got.
 Yēsō thōkē dīn hitwādyā, khāpnō ripchali nāt yād hōbar-ke
So few days passed, own former state memory having-become
 ū khāpnō nan-mā khulwāḍō, 'mērō māwutō pēsō hōbrēsō chhōt
he own mind-in said, 'my father near being many
 nākar-kū rēpaṭ chhil-ke jāstī dūtan ḍhīmlē; mē hyā chhukē-sī
servants-to belly having-filled more food is-got; I here hunger-from
 lugnalō. Mē khutwāḍ-ke mērō māwutē-kō pēsō hit-ke chhōlwādyō,
am-dying. I having-arisen my father-of near having-gone said,

"māwutō, mē Khidēw-kā nāp māwutē-kā nāp chōnd bētō. Mē tērō
"father, I God-of sin father-of sin tying took. I thy
 gelpō kar-kō kēnē bētanē-kū lāyakh naī. Ma-kū khēk nākarī sarik
son saying saying taking-for worthy not. Me one servant like
 tērō pēsō rakhōd bēt." Yātri khul-ke whā-si khut-ke
of-thee near keeping take." So having-said there-from having-arisen
 khāpnō māwutē-kō pēsō baratē-kō māwutē wā-kū dūg-sē chhumān-ke
own father-of near coming-on father him far-from having-seen
 mayā bar-ke chigit-hit-ke chithī lōtke chummā bētwādō.
pity having-come run-gone-having embrace having-struck kiss took.
 Tab gelpō māwutē-kū chhōlō, 'māwutē, mē tērō khagādi Khidēw-kā
Then son father-to said, 'father, I of-thee before God-of
 khagādi nūk kōlwaḍi. Ma-kū tērō gelpō kar-kū chulāvē
before sin did. Me thy servant having-said should-be-called
 jīn.' Wā-sē māwutō khāpnō nākar-kū khulwādyō, 'nīrō gipadā
not. That-to father own servants-to said, 'good dress
 bēt-ke mērō gelpē-kū nīrāw; khāngli-mē chundādī ghalōd, gōnē-mē
having-taken my son-to put-on; finger-on ring put, feet-on
 jōdakhā ghalōd; dūtnō-kū chhōgē kōlō. Hamē dūt-ke nūsal
shoes put; eating-for preparation make. We having-eaten merry
 hōbrāngē; kā-chōlē-tō yō mērō gelpō lugitō-tō, nīrka jik barō;
shall-become; ichy-say-then this my son dead-was, again life came;
 nukitō-hityāsō, dhimlō.' Yō nhunke nablō nūsi hōbrā.
lost-gone, was-found. This having-heard all glad became.

Yō bakhat-kū wā-kō chaddō gelpō nhēt-mē hōbrō. Ū khōk-kē
This time-at his big son field-in was. He house-of
 pēsō barawādō, tab wā-kū gawajnō nachaunō hupakke barō. Yē
near came, then him-to singing dancing to-be-heard came. These
 nākar-mē khōk-kā chōl-ke, 'kā nālī hōbrē?' nuchawādyō.
servants-among one having-called, 'what going-on is?' asked.
 Wā-kū wā-nē khulwādō, 'tērō rhāklo barawādō; ū nīrō barke
Him-to him-by it-was-said, 'thy brother came; he well having-come
 dhimlō. Wā-kē khāw-sē tērō māwutō dūtnō kōlō.' Ō
was-met. That-of reason-from thy father feast made. That
 bun-ke wā-kō chaddō gelpō musā hōbar-ke nītar hitō naī.
having-heard his big son angry having-become inside went not.
 Wā-kē khāw-sē wā-kō māwutō rhār barke, 'nītar barawād,
That-of reason-from his father outside having-come, 'inside come,
 kar-ke wā-kū chhōt khulō. Ū khāpnō māwutō-kū khulwādō, 'mē
having-said him-to much said. He own father-to said, 'I

itnē naras tallakh tērō nākri kōl-ke kabī tērō rhāyadī
so-many years up-to thy service having-done ever thy word
 lugai naī. Nir-ke mē mērō nōs-kū dhimalā-lā-kē dūtan kōlnē-kō
broke not. But I my friends having-gathered feast making-of
 khāw-sē tū ma-kū kbēk dhilyā bī kabī naī khichō. Nir-tū
reason-from thou me-to one kid even ever not gavest. But
 khirāṇḍ-kā naṅgāt-mē naḍ-ke tērō jingānī nah nīngāḷ-bētēsō
harlots-of company-in having-fallen thy property all decoured-having
 yē tērō gelpō khōk-kū harē narābar tū wā-kē khāw-sē dūtan
this thy son house-to coming as-room-as thou his sake-for feast
 kōl bētētō. Māwutō gelpō-kū chhōlwādō, 'tū nahajē dūn
making given-hast. Father son-to said, 'thou all dogs
 mērō hyā rhōkē. Mērō pēsō hōbrēsō nah tērō-ch. Lugitōsō tērō
of-me near art. Me-of near being all thine. Dead-being thy
 rhākḷō, nirkū jik haritō; nukitō hityāsō, dhimlō. Yēsō hamō naī.
brother, again life came; lost gone, was-found. So we merry
 hōbarkū narābar hōbrē.
to-become proper is.

[No. 29.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

MYÂNWÁLĒ OR LHĀRĪ.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Khēk nānd-mē dōg chōngmē chhōt nēs hōbrō. Khēk dīn
One village-in two beggars much friends were. One day
 dōgū dhimal-kē nar-dēs-kū hī-kē khāw-sē nichār
both having-come-together other-country-to going-of sake-for thinking
 kōl-ke khāpū pēsō hōbrēsō thōkō lōkō khēk khiswāsūk
having-made self near being little money one honest
 chhudīkī-kō nābē-mē khich-ke, 'hamē dōgū dhimal-kē
old-woman-of possession-in having-given, 'we both having-come-together
 chōngkū barō-tō yē ham-kū khichawād, yēsō chōl-ke nimal hīē.
asking-for come-if this us-to give, so having-said away went.
 Khagādī thōkō dīn-kē khūpar wā-mē-sē khēklā nīr-ke wā
Then few days-of upon them-in-of one having-retained that
 chhudīkī-kō pēsō hī-ke, 'māwūtī, mērō nōs rāt-mel lugītō;
old-woman-of near having-gone, 'mother, my friend road-on died;
 wā-kī khāw-sē hamārō lōkō khichawād, yēsō khulwādō. I chhōt
that-of sake-for our money give, so said. She many
 nabab khulwādī, lēkin ū buṅkō nāī. Nhēwaṭī i wā lōkō
excuses said, but he heard not. At-last she that money
 wā-kū khichō. Thōkō dīn-kē khūpar dukarō wā chhudīkī pēsō
him-to gave. Few days-of upon the-second that old-woman near
 bar-ke nēt chōngwādī. Tab wā chhudīkī, 'rhākjō, thōkō
having-come purse demanded. Then that old-woman, 'brother, few
 dīn-kā ripchē tērō nōs bar-ke, tā lugītō, yēsō chōl-ke
days-of behind thy friend having-come, thou diedst, so having-said
 lōkō chōngwādē. Wā-sē, "tūm dōgū dhimal-ke barawād,"
money demanded. Him-to, "you both having-come-together come,"
 yēsō chhōt chōlwādō. Ū mērō rhāyaṭī nāī buṅ-ke nūm-sē
so much said. He my word not having-heard force-with
 nab lōkō bētētō. Wā-sē ū narkār-kō pēsō nīrādē
all money took-away. That-from he government-of near complainant

hiñ. Tab narkār wā chhudikī-kū chnā-kū bēt-kū nabañ
sent. Then government that old-woman summoning-for having-given all
 nakhikat nuchō.
facts asked.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

In a certain village there lived two beggars who were intimate friends. One day they thought of going together to a foreign country. They entrusted whatever little money they possessed to an honest old woman, requesting her to return it if they both came jointly to ask for it, and went away. A few days after one of them came back to the old woman and said, 'mother, my friend died on the road; therefore give my money to me.' She made many excuses, but he would not listen, and at last she returned the money to him.

Some days afterwards the other one came to the old woman and asked for the deposit. Then the old woman said, 'brother, a few days back thy friend came, said that you had died, and asked for the money. I remonstrated with him that you two would have to come together, but he did not heed my word and forcibly took the money from me.'

He then lodged a complaint before a judge. The judge summoned the old woman and ascertained all the facts.

KANJARĪ.

The name Kanjar is used to denote an aggregate of vagrant tribes. Mr. W. Crooke, in his *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, states that they are probably of Dravidian origin. He further remarks that 'there can be little doubt that the Kanjars are a branch of the great nomadic race which includes the Sānsiya, Hābūra, Beriya Bhātu, and more distant kindred, such as the Nat, Banjāra, Baheliya.'

Many of them live in the forests, 'where they subsist by hunting wolves, hares, and any kind of animal they can kill or catch, by gathering such roots and vegetable products as require no cultivation, and by extracting juice from the palm tree, which, after it has become fermented, is the favourite beverage of almost all the wandering and low-caste tribes of India. They are clever at trapping birds and squirrels, and any other kind of vermin which chance may throw in their way, all of which they eat indiscriminately. The arts of the Kanjars are making mats of the *sirkā* reed, baskets of wattled cane, fans of palm leaves, and rattles of plaited straw. From the stalks of the *mūnj* grass and from the roots of the *palāka* tree they make ropes, which are sold or bartered to villagers in exchange for grain, milk, pigs, etc. They prepare the skins out of which drums are made, and sell them to Hindu musicians. They make plates of broad leaves which are ingeniously stitched together by the stalks; and plates of this kind are very widely used by the inferior Indian castes and by confectioners and sellers of sweetmeats. They are among the chief stone-cutters of Upper India, especially in the manufacture of the grinding-stone, which is largely used. They gather the white wool-like fibre which grows in the pods of the *śalmālī* or Indian cotton tree, and twist it into thread for the use of weavers. In the manufacture of brushes for the cleaning of cotton yarn, they enjoy an almost entire monopoly, and another complete or almost complete monopoly enjoyed by Kanjars is the collection and sale of the roots of *khaskhas* grass, which are afterwards made up by others into door screens and used as refrigerators during the hottest months of the year. At the same time many Kanjars are now taking to a more settled life: some are cultivators and field labourers; others live in towns and make door screens, baskets, sieves, and the like, and some of them in this way have considerably raised their social status.'

No satisfactory explanation of the word Kanjar has as yet been given. It has been derived from Sanskrit *kānanachara*, wanderer in the jungle, but this etymology is hardly possible from a philological point of view. It is more likely that *kanjar* is a shorter form of the word *kājarō* or *kājarō*, man, which is used by many Kanjars, and which is related to Sāsi *kajjā*, Nāfi *kājā* and Dōm *kājucā*. We do not know whether this word is Aryan or not. It is probably identical with Romani *gājō*.

The Kanjars are most numerous in the United Provinces in which, according to the Census of 1911, they numbered 18,345. Elsewhere there were 5,638, giving a total of 23,983.

The inflexion of nouns in many respects differs from Hindōstānī. The oblique base of weak nouns sometimes ends in *ā*; thus, *garā-sē*, to the neck (Aligarh); *garā-mā*, on the neck (Etawah). Similarly the oblique plural ends in *ā* or *ā̃*; thus, *naukar-chakrā-sē*, to the servants (Aligarh); *varā-sē*, years from (Sitapur); *naukrā-ku*, to the servants (Belgaum). Such forms agree with Marāṭhī, the singular ones also with Bihārī and the plural ones with Rājasthānī.

An *ō* is often added to weak bases and kept in the oblique form; thus, *riḥō-kē*, of the house (Aligarh, Sitapur); *bihārō-mē*, in the property (Etawah); *dāmō-dē*, of value (Farrukhabad); *bāpō-nē*, by the father (Belgaum). This *ō* is different from the final *ō* of strong masculine bases, which becomes *ā* in the oblique form and in the plural; thus, *chūbkō*, son; *chūbkā*, sons; *bāphēlā-sē*, to the father, in the Sitapur specimens and similar forms in the materials forwarded from the other districts. Ordinary Hindōstānī forms are used as well. The Rājasthānī affinities acquire some significance if we remember that we find a similar state of affairs in other argots such as Dōm, Naṭi and Sāsī.

The case suffixes are mainly Hindōstānī. The dative suffix *ku*, *kū*, *kō* also reminds us of Dravidian. The ablative suffix is commonly *sē*, in Farrukhabad, however, also *sū* as in Mārwarī, Jaipurī and Mālvī. In Belgaum we find *dē*, from, which perhaps has something to do with the genitive suffix *dā*, *dī*, which is used in addition to *kā*, *kī*, in Farrukhabad. It will be seen that this latter suffix is identical with the Pañjābī one. It is, however, possible that it has something to do with Tamil *uḍaiya*, Kanarese *da*.¹

In many of the specimens we will find that the final *ō* of adjectives is often kept before an inflected noun; thus, *khachchhō najaū-kū*, to a good man (Sitapur); *ōchhō bafrā-nē*, by the younger son (Etawah); *apuō kaurī paisā*, his money (Farrukhabad); *tēro naukrī*, thy service (Belgaum). Such instances point to the conclusion that the sense of gender is weak and that adjectives are not inflected, a state of affairs which would be natural if the Kanjars were not originally Aryans.

With regard to pronouns we may note the use of the base *jō*, *jī*, as a demonstrative pronoun, just as is the case in Rājasthānī, and, further, the curious forms *urō-nē*, by him (Aligarh); *urō-kā*, his (Etawah); *igal*, this matter; *kēgal*, what matter (Farrukhabad); *ūr*, *birō*, he; *urō-kō*, his (Sitapur); *yō*, thou; *yurō-ku*, *urō-ku*, to thee; *urō-ku*, to him. These and similar forms remind us of Dravidian; compare Tulu *ir*, Kul and Old Telugu *iru*, you; Tamil Kanarese *avar* Gōṇḍī *ōr*, he, etc.

The conjugation of verbs presents some peculiar features. There are several additions to the base which do not appear to modify the meaning. Thus an *r* is frequently suffixed; compare *hubbār rai-r-ī*, is going on (Aligarh); *lugai-r-ō*, he beats (Sitapur); *rah-r-ō*, he remained (Aligarh); *ā-r-ō*, he came; *sun-r-ō*, he heard (Etawah); *ā-r-ō*, he came; *lugai-r-ō̃*, I had beaten (Sitapur); *kuṭ-r-ō*, I struck; *gaug-r-ō*, I went; *dusā-r-ō*, I said; *hu-r-ō*, I became (Belgaum). This *r* is sometimes followed by the termina-

¹ Compare, however, the Western Pākṣī ablative postposition *dā*, which is certainly Indo-Aryan.

tion *s* of the past; thus, *kai-r-s*, did; *śaid*; *kā-r-s*, ate; *pi-r-s*, drank; *kari-gu-r-sē*, having done wentest, hast done, etc. (Aligarh).¹

Often the syllable *wār* or *bār* is added; compare Myānwālā *wāf*, Dōm *uar*. Thus, *baṭ-wār*, dividing; *jībār-ō*, came to life (Sitapur); *sun-wār-ko*, having heard; *kar-wār-ō*, hast made (Belgaum); *baṭ-bār*, having divided; *li-bbār-kē*, having taken; *ra-bbār-ō*, wast (Aligarh), and so forth. In the Belgaum specimens we sometimes find *wād* instead of *wār*; thus, *mil-wād-ō hē*, *mil-wād-dō*, and *mil-wār-ō*, he is found; *tuṭ-wād-ō*, broke; *puṭ-wād-ko*, having fallen, and so forth. It seems probable that we should compare the Mārwarī termination *rō*, which is so frequently added pleonastically. We may also compare the causal terminations Mārwarī *wāie*, Jaipuri *ād*, Gujarātī *āie*, *ād*. Forms such as *khanṣō karwārō hai*, thou hast made a feast; *charcārīdō*, grazing; *bandhār līnō*, I have taken having caused it to be attached to me, I have committed, in the Belgaum specimen, are perhaps actually causals. In most cases, however, the addition of *wār* does not seem to affect the meaning.

This use of added *r*, *wār*, *bār* is accordingly perhaps another point in which Kanjarī agrees with Rājasthānī. Broadly speaking the conjugation of verbs is the same as in that form of speech. In the past tense, however, the termination is *ō* and not *yō*; compare *karō*, did; *lagō*, began (Etawah). Forms such as *dinō*, gave; *līnō*, took, are well known from Mārwarī and Jaipuri. The *l* in *manālō*, entreated (Aligarh); *pūchhlō*, asked (Etawah), may be comparable, or else it may be another form of the *r* mentioned above. The *s* which occurs in several forms such as *dis*, gave; *lis*, took; *sunigulis*, heard; *lakhsars*, said (Aligarh); *līnhs*, took; *dīnhs*, gave (Etawah); *lakhsīs*, said; *riūchhs*, asked; *kaughis*, said (Sitapur), on the other hand, belongs to Eastern Hindī. Such forms are especially common in the Sitapur specimen, and the prevailing language in Sitapur is Awadhī. They are not met with in the Belgaum texts.

In the future we find *s* forms in Aligarh and Sitapur and *g* forms in Farrukhabad and Belgaum. Compare *kahsā*, I will say; *kacugasā*, we will do (Aligarh); *lakhsāwā*, I will say; *lugaoghasi*, thou wilt beat, he will beat (Sitapur); *huggō*, it will be; *jāwāgā*, I shall go (Farrukhabad); *hōwūngā*, I shall be; *kuṭuūngō*, I shall beat (Belgaum). Similar forms are found in Mārwarī, but more properly belong to Eastern Rājasthānī. In Etawah we find forms such as *jānō*, I shall go; *kahnō*, I shall say. They may be compared with the Jaipuri forms ending in *lō*. Compare also Naipālī.

So far as we have seen hitherto Kanjarī conjugation broadly agrees with Rājasthānī, especially Eastern Rājasthānī. Another feature seems to point in a different direction. Kanjarī seems to possess a participle the characteristic element of which is *d*. Compare *tīdō*, giving; *angadō*, coming; *jaugadō*, *jādō*, gone (Aligarh); *maddō*, dying; *kaddō*, doing; *rahandō-mē*, among the inhabitants (Etawah); *lugaōdō*, beating; *jaughadō*, going (Sitapur); *hōndō*, being; *nikhardō*, going; *awardō*, coming; *margōdō*, dead (Belgaum). It will be seen that such forms are used as present and also as past participles. They are also contained in verbal forms. Some of these belong to present

¹ The termination *rō* may also be a contraction of *rukṣ* and *re* of *rukṣe*, both meaning 'was,' and the latter being the Awadhī form. In many dialects, especially in Western Pahari, this is added to the conjunctive participle to form a past tense. Thus *drō* may be for *ḍ-rukṣō*, and so for the others. According to native grammarians, *rukṣe* is the 'sister' of *hond*.—G. A. G.

time; thus, *chalgudañ*, I go; *dūtdaē*, they eat (Aligarh); *lugdañ*, I die; *anghadō*, he is coming (Sitapur); *maradū*, I die; *dēndū*, I give; *āndū*, I come; *nikhardai*, we, you, they go (Belgaum). Others have the meaning of past tenses. Compare *handō*, was (Aligarh); *jāñdō*, was sent (Etawah); *āndā*, came; *kaindā*, said (Farrukhabad); *hūdō*, was; *lugañdō*, struck (Sitapur); *handō*, was; *bharicār-lēndō*, would have filled; *gacāndē-gaudō*, was lost (Belgaum).

It would be possible to compare the suffix *ndō* of the present participle of Sindhi and Naipāli. The fact, however, that these forms are also used in the past perhaps points in a different direction. It will be seen from my remarks on page 296 of Volume IV of this Survey that there is a *d*-suffix which forms the indefinite present participle in Dravidian languages, and that one of the forms of the corresponding suffix of the past participle in Tamil is *ndu*. We have already found other possible traces of a Dravidian substratum in Kanjarī, and the *d*-suffix may be of the same kind. In this connexion I may also mention the verbal suffixes *ir* and *gir* in forms such as *lapirō*, began (Aligarh, Etawah, Sitapur); *āgōgirō*, came; *augirō*, came; *gaigirō*, went; *lugaighirō*, I have beaten; *jaoghirō*, went (Belgaum), and so on, which look like compounds with the Dravidian *iru*, is; *kiri*, am. The *r*-suffix mentioned above may have a similar origin. The extensive use of relative participles and the apparent tendency to form a negative verb in Belgaum is of less significance, because the predominant language of the district is Kanarese.

The facts drawn attention to above show that the dialect of the Kanjars is a mixed form of speech, and that the most important ingredient is Eastern Rājasthānī. Some characteristics point to the conclusion that there is, besides, a certain Dravidian element. If anything can be inferred from this state of affairs about the original home of the Kanjars, it would be that they lived somewhere in Eastern Rajasthan or Central India. At the present day we find Gōṇḍ dialects spoken in Bhopal, and there can be no doubt that Dravidian forms of speech once extended farther to the west. It must, however, be remembered that the speech of a vagrant tribe like the Kanjars at the present day can hardly show where their original home is, but only, at the utmost, that they have come into contact with those languages which can be traced in their own speech.

Kanjarī contains some peculiar words of the same kind as similar forms of speech. Such are *lug*, die; *lugai*, beat (Sitapur); *chūbōkō*, son (Aligarh and Sitapur); *ṣipui*, bread (Aligarh and Sitapur); *jhūkil*, dog (Sitapur); *dūt*, eat (Aligarh and Sitapur); *thūr*, eat (Belgaum); *jhurāi*, fire (Sitapur); *guṇḍālē*, loot (Belgaum); *gurārō*, foot (Aligarh and Sitapur); *tiūr*, give (Sitapur); *kidō*, give (Belgaum); *riḥ*, house (Aligarh and Sitapur); *nandō*, house (Belgaum); *kājarō*, man (Etawah); *kājarō*, man (Belgaum); *najañ*, man (Sitapur); *tig*, see (Aligarh and Sitapur); *nīmānī*, water (Sitapur); *nucāñi*, water (Belgaum), and so forth. Some of the words in use among Kanjars have a Dravidian look. Compare *pādō*, bull; *awarō*, comes; *kidō*, give, in the Belgaum specimens, with Tamil *māḍu*, bull; *vava*, come; *koḍu*, give, respectively, and *tiūr*, give (Sitapur), with Tamil *tera*, give. Mr. Kirkpatrick mentions several more such words, such as *dhimrī*, bread; *ghamēlā*, sun; *khainch*, thief; *khuth*,

night; *kūrch*, drink; *mikatch*, death; *ninghār*, ghee; *rikā*, rupee; *tigro*, sea; *tūbargo*, swim; *tūrrak*, sleeping, and so forth. Of these *ghamēlā*, sun, is of some interest, as being evidently connected with Romani *kham*, sun, *lit.* heat.

With regard to the word *jhūkil*, dog, in the Sitapur texts, and *jhūkal* in Mr. Kirkpatrick's list, it should be noted that this word likewise presents a marked similarity with the European Gipsy word *jukel*, dog.

Such words appear to belong to the original vocabulary of the Kanjars, and many of them are no doubt unintelligible to outsiders. The case is a little different with the Arabic numerals which are used by the Kanjars of Belgaum, just as is the case with the Qasāis of the Panjab. The numerals in question will be found in the Standard List of Words and Sentences on pp. 180ff., and their Arabic origin is self-evident.

Like other tribes of the same kind the Kanjars use certain devices for disguising their words and making them unintelligible. The beginning of a word is often changed. Thus *kō* is prefixed in *kōhath*, hand (Sitapur); *kh* is prefixed or substituted for another initial in many cases. Compare *khachchā*, good; *khakāl*, famine; *khārō-kē*, of the friends (Aligarh); *khamāt*, property (Kheri); *khāgēlē*, before; *khādmī*, man; *khawāf*, sound; *khakkāl*, famine (Sitapur); *khandar*, inside; *khūpar*, above (Belgaum). *Ch*, *chh* are apparently only prefixed to or substituted for labials; compare *chiharwā-kū*, to fill (Aligarh); *chībrō*, big; *chībhai*, brother; *chhūkā-sē*, from hunger; *chhītar*, inside (Sitapur); *chait*, sit; *chibādō*, big; *chanlā-kē*, having called (Belgaum).

Cerebrals are used as disguising letters in words such as *ḡahnā*, eye; *ḡharib*, poor; *ḡhilāp*, against (Urdū *khilāf*); *ḡhusi*, merry (Sitapur); *ḡharō*, big (Aligarh).

N only occurs as a substitute for *k* or *kh* in the texts. Compare *nēt*, field (Aligarh and Sitapur); *najūn*, man; compare *kājarō* (Sitapur).

Labials do not appear to be much used in this way. Compare *pādō*, bull (Belgaum), which may be Tamil *māḍu* or Hindōstānī *sāḍ*; *bēk*, one; *baur*, and; *bīrō*, that (Sitapur).

R is of more common occurrence. Compare *rakriā-kō rachchā*, a goat's young (Aligarh); *rahnāō*, put on; *rarmēsur*, God; *rusāk*, cloth; *riūchhis*, asked; *ranāi*, make; *rahit*, much; *rūlak*, country; *rañjūrā-kū*, to the servants (Sitapur). In all these instances *r* has replaced an old labial. It is, however, occasionally also used instead of other sounds; compare *ruāb*, answer; *ramā*, together; *rarsā-sē*, from years, all in the Sitapur texts.

An *l* is prefixed in *lakhāwsū*, I will say (Sitapur); *lakhārs*, said (Aligarh), and it has been substituted for an *n* in *likārō*, bring out.

Words are also disguised by means of additions at the end, and such additions are very common in Kanjarī, just as is the case in Dōm. Some of them such as *ō* and *r* have already been mentioned above. With regard to *r* I may add that it is also added after nouns and adjectives. Compare *gurārō*, foot; *bhaiyārā*, brother (Aligarh); *chhufārō*, small; *thurārā*, few (Sitapur); *phalāri*, fruit (Belgaum). Several other additions are used, and most of them are well known from similar

argots. The principal ones are, so far as we can judge from the materials available :—

g or *gh* is used in words such as *aogh*, come ; *liūghis*, took ; *haughē*, is (Sitapur) ; *gaugrō*, went (Belgaum). The initial consonant of the suffix *gir* (*ghir*) mentioned above is perhaps of the same kind.

An element *efō* or *ēhō* is comparatively often added. Thus, *papēfō*, sin ; *malēhō*, property (Aligarh) ; *hattēfō*, hand ; *khanēfō*, food (Belgaum).

A dental has been added in words such as *ramtā*, pity (Sitapur) ; *chamakdē*, lustre ; *bahutdē*, many (Belgaum).

A common suffix is *ēlō* ; thus, *khatēlō-mē*, on the hand ; *batēli*, words (Aligarh) ; *hisēlū*, share ; *papēlō*, sin (Sitapur) ; *khakēlē*, eye ; *jibēli*, tongue (Belgaum). Instead of *ēlō* we also find *bēlō* and *hēlō* ; thus, *dubēlū*, two ; *tibēlū*, three ; *bap-hēlō*, father ; *bhus-hēli*, chaff ; *chum-hēlō*, kissed, all in the Sitapur specimens.

The preceding remarks will be sufficient for removing the difficulties in the way of understanding the specimens of Kanjarī which follow. The first is a version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son received from the Sitapur district. It will be seen from the Parable and from the Standard List of Words and Sentences printed below on pp. 180ff. that there are comparatively few traces of the influence of Awadhī, the chief language of the district.

[No. 30.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARI.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT SITAPUR.

Bēk najaū dūhēlū chūbhā raughasā. Bithi-mā ehhutārō bap-hēlā-sē
One man(-of) two sons were. Them-in small-one father-to
 lakhāmdō, 'bap-hēlū, merō hisēlū jō khujārā-sē niphirē, sō tiār.
said, 'father, my share which property-from comes, that give.'
 Bihī batwār tiāris. Thurārā dīn-hēlā ehhutārō chābkō
He having-divided gave. Few days-in small son
 ramā-kar-kē rūlak chailō gaughirō, haur apnō malhēlō
together-having-made country(-to) moved went, and own property
 khurāo dīnhis. Jab sab khurāo tiāris, birō rōlkō barō khakkāl
wasted gave. When all wasted gave, that in-country big famine
 parghirō, haur dharīb hō-gaō. Tab us rōlkō-mā bēk
fell, and poor becoming-went. Then that country-in one
 ralakh khādmī tīr raughan lagirō. Birō apnō nētū ghurghur
wealthy man near to-live began. He own field seine
 charāwnē pathāis. Birō chaughirō bhūs-hēlī jō ghurghur datā-dāī
to-feed sent. He wished huaks which seine eating-were
 dūt-kē pit-hēlō bharighis. Nak-hēlū kōī na tiāris. Tab
having-eaten belly may-fill. But anybody not gave. Then
 khōsō ān-kē lakhāis, 'mērē bap-hēlā tīr ranjūrā-kū tipūī bahut
in-senses having-come said, 'my father near servants-to bread much
 rach-raughirī, haur māī chhākā-sē lugdāī. Māī khunar-kō
saved-remained, and I hunger-from dying-am. I having-arisen
 bap-hēlā tīr jaughisō, haur birō-sē lakhāwsū, "aī bap-hēlā, māī-nō
father near will-go, and him-to will-say, "O father, me-by
 khasinānō-kē dhilap baur tērē khāgēlē papēlō karōghis; māī tērō
heaven-of against and of-thee before sin done-was; I thy
 chūbkō lakhāibāwālō nahī. Mōh-kū ranjūrā-kī nāī ranāī." Tab
son one-to-be-called not. Me servants-of like make." Then
 bihī apnō bap-hēlā tīr gaughirō. Abhaī woh durhēlō, birō-kē
he own father near went. Yet he far-was, his
 bap-hēlā tik-kē. ramita kīnhis, haur rapat-kē urō-kō dhalā
father having-seen pity did, and having-run him-to on-neck
 lagāī liūghis, haur rahut chumhēlō. Chābkō kaughis, 'bap-hēlā,
attaching took, and much kissed. Son said, 'father,

tērō dhunā kinhañ, baur rarmēsūrō-kō dhunā kinhañ; birā laik-kō
of-thee sin I-did, and God-of sin I-did; now worthy
 nahī ki phir tērō chūbkō lakhāñ. Bap-hēla apnē
not that again thy son I-shall-be-called. Father own
 nukarhēla-kō lakhāis, 'achhi rusāk niphār liāo, baur urō-kū rahnāo;
servants-to said, 'good robe taking-out bring, and him-to put-on;
 urū-kē kōhathō-mā khāgūthi gurārā-mā gurārī rahnāo, Ham dutāi
him-of hand-on ring feet-on shoes put-on. We may-eat
 baur dhusī hōē. Mērō chūbkō lōgirō hurō-thō, ab jibbārō;
and merry may-be. My son dead become-was, now revived;
 khubbārō gaō-thō, ab milghirō. 'Tab woh dhusī karnū lagirō.
lost gone-was, now was-found. Then they merry to-make began.
 Chibrō chūbkō nētō-mā hūdō. Jab ribō-kē nagich-hēla aughirō,
Big son field-in was. When house-of near came,
 gabbārībō nach-hēla-ki khawāj sunghirō. Baur bēk nukarhēla-kō
music dancing-of sound heard. And one servant-to
 rulāo-kē riūchhis, 'yō kā haughē? ' Wō us-sē lakhāis, 'tērō
having-called asked, 'this what is? ' He him-to said, 'thy
 chibhāi aughirō; tērō bap-hēla-nē bārī rāfat kinhis, birā-rātē birō-kō
brother came; thy father-by big feasting made, this-for him
 khachchhō paughis. Būthwār raughirō chhītar jaughirō-na. Birō-kē
well found. Angry got inside went-not. Him-of
 bap-hēlō chhābir ārō baur ranāñō lagirō. Bap-hēla-kū ruāb
father outside came and to-entreat began. Father-to answer
 tiūris, 'tigō, itnī rarsā-sē māi tēri dhijmit karū; tērō dhuknō-kē
gave, 'see, so-many years-from I thy service do; thy order-of
 dhillāp na chalughē. Bēk rakariā-kā bachchā na tiūrō ki māi
against not went. One goat-of young-one not gatest that I
 apnē dhusēlā-kē sēth dhusī ranāñō. Jaisē tērō chhutārō chūbkō
own friends-of with merry might-make. As thy young son
 ārō, jō tērō malhēlō dhasbiyā-mā khupāis, tū bunhā-ki bārī
came, who thy property harlots-among wasted, thou him-of big
 rāfat kinhis. Urū-kō ūr lakhāis, 'ai chūbkā, khamēsā tū mērē
feasting madest. Him-to he said, 'O son, always thou of-me
 tir hās; jō mērō haughē, sō tērō haughē. Dhusī
near art; what mine is, that thine is. merry
 ranāñē, dhusī hurū; tērō chibhāi lagirō-thō, sō jibbārō; khubbār
should-make, merry should-be; thy brother dead-was, he revived; lost
 gayō-thō, phir milghirō.
gone-was, again was-found.'

A specimen of Kanjari has also been forwarded from the Kheri District. It does not, however, represent any separate dialect, but is an attempt at writing ordinary Hindōstāni, as will be seen from the beginning of the Parable which follows.

[No. 31.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARI.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT KHERI.

Ek bāpkē dō nēkrē thā. Lahaurē nēkrē-nē apnē bāp-sē
One father-of two sons were. Younger son-by own father-to
 kahā, 'ayā bāp, apnē khamāl wis-mē-sē mērā bāṭā dē. jō
it-was-said, 'O father, own property that-in-of my share give, which
 mērē bāṭē-mē sē. Tab us-nē dōnō nēkrē-kō balwā bāṭi
my share-in may-come. Then him-by both sons-to property dividing
 diyā. Aur lahaurē beṭē-nē apnā balwā lē-kar dūr-kē
was-given. And younger son-by own property having-taken far
 mulkā-mē jātā rahā aur apnā balwā haram khauri-mē
country-to going stayed and own property forbidden wickedness-in
 urāyā. Sab jab ur-gayā us mulkā-mē kāl pareṭ aur
squandered. All when squandered-went that country-in famine fell and
 woli hō gayā naṅgā. Us mulkā-mē ek basindā-kē tīrē
he becoming went naked. That country-in one resident-of near
 jāi lagā. Us-nē usē sūr chugānē-kō khāt-mē
having-gone attached-himself. Him-by him pigs to-graze field-in
 ghulāyā. Apnē dilā-mē sōchā ki un chhulō-kō jō sūr khālā
sent. Own heart-in thought that this husks which swine ate
 un-par pēt bharē; us-kō kōi khānē-kō dētā nahī thā. Apnē
thae-on belly may-fill; him-to anybody eating-for giving not was. Own
 dilā-mē tab akal kiā ki, 'mērē bāpā-kē itnē ādmī rōṭi
heart-in then sense was-made that, 'my father-of so-many men bread
 khātē haī, aur maī bhūkhō martī-hū. Maī uthī-kē apnē
eating are, and I with-hunger dying-am. I having-arisen own
 bāpā-kē dhaurē jāū aur us-sē yeh kahaṅgrā-hū ki, "bāp rē,
father-of near may-go and him-to this saying-am that, "father O,
 maī-nē bādar aur tērā barā kasūr kariā. Is lāek hū ab
me-by sky and of-thee big sin was-made. This worthy am now
 nahī ki phir tērā bēṭā kahaṅgrā, ki bāp rē, itnē majūr
not that again thy son shall-say, that father O, so-many servants
 tērē lāgē haī, ek mujhē bhī lāgi jān."'
thine appointed are, one me also appointing consider."

The Kanjarī of Aligarh contains a strong Rājasthānī element. As has already been remarked there are, however, some features which seem to show the existence of a Dravidian element, while the *s*-suffix of the past tense points towards Eastern Hindī.

[No. 32.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARI.

SPECIMEN III.

DISTRICT ALIGARH.

Kinui-kā dō chūbkā thā. Irā-mē-sē chhōtā-nē bāpō-sē
Some-one-of two sons were. Them-in-from younger-by father-to
 kairs ki, 'bāpū, ittha-mē-sē tildē mērō.' Urō-nē duhī-kū
said that, 'father, property-in-from give mine.' Him-by both-to
 bathār dīs. Thōrā dinā-mē chhōtō batrō malēthō hikatthō
having-divided gave. Few days-in small son property together
 kairs, apnō libhār-kē par-dēs chalgurō gaigirō. Hūā phēlsūbī
made, own having-taken other-country moved went. There riotousness
 kairs aur khārs pīrs urārs kharch-kar tilis; rabbārō na
did and ate drank squandered expended-making gave; remained not
 kachhu. Tab hūā khakāl dharrō hurō. Dutābās tang hurō.
anything. Then there famine big became. Food scarce became,
 pallē na rairō. Tab kinū bhagwānō-kē hillā-sir hūā
in-possession not remained. Then some rich-man-of employment-in there
 jā lagirō. Urō-nē apnē nētā-mē ghurair chugānū bhijwārs.
going was-attached. Him-by own fields-in swine to-tend sent.
 Wuī chāhdō thō, 'jin khaptā ghurair dōtdō thō wuī māi bī khā
He wishing was, 'which husks swine eating were those I all eating
 tukhulō chihār-wā-kū hundō.' Urā-kō kōi tildō nāy. Tab
belly filling-for am(-prepared). Him-to anyone giving not. Then
 urō-kū khōs ā-gāō, tab urō-nē kairs ki, 'tigō ki mērā bāpō-kē
him-to sense came, then him-by said that, 'see that my father-of
 balutērā rahnā tipuī dūtāde aur chhūkarō papurdaū. Ab māi
many servants bread are-eating and hungry I-starve. Now I
 chalgudaū bapētā-kē thaur jāgsū aur urō-sē kahsū, "bapētā, māi-nē
am-going father-of near will-go and him-to will-say, "father, we-by
 tērē āgē Bhagwānō-kō papētō kērō; ab māi tērō chūbkō kahwā
of-thee before God-of sin was-done; now I thy son to-say
 lāk na rairō. Apnā rahnā-kutauā-mē mō-kū rakhwāl-lō."
worthy not am. Own servants-among me putting-take."
 Hūā-se wū chalgurō bāpō-kē thaur augirō. Dūrō-sē tigdāi bapētā-kī
There-from he moved father-of near came. Far-from seeing father-of
 chhātī bhariyāi, wūā-sē niparrō, urō-kū garā-sē lagā līs aur
breast was-filled, there-from went, him-to neck-to clasping took and

bahut chummi lis. Bāpō-sē batrā-nē kairsan ki, 'ā bapū, tērē many kisses took. Father-to son-by said-was that, 'O father, of-thee āgē Bhagwānō-kō papētō kērō; māi tērō chūbkō kahwā lāk na before God-of sin was-done; I thy son to-say worthy not rahrō.' Tab bāpō-nē naukār-chākṛā-sē lakhārs ki, 'khachchā-mē remained.' Then father-by servants-to said that, 'good-in khachchā tūpkā likārō aur irā-kū pēdāwō; aur irā-kē khatelā-mē good clothes bring and him-to put-on; and him-of hand-on chhapēli pēdā til aur irā-kā guṇārā-mē guṇārāṁ dār til. Chalō, ring putting give and him-of foot-on shoes putting give. Come, khusī karuṅgā. kit-kū-ki mērō jī batrō mar-gōgirō, phēr jī merry we-shall-make, because my this son dead-gone-is, again alive parigurō; jī jaugadō rairō thō, phēr ā-gōgirō.' Aur sab khusī felt; he last remaining was, again came.' And all merry karnū lagirō. to-make began.

Urō gharīyē urō-kō barō batrō nētā-mē thō. Urō augirō aur jab That at-time him-of big son fields-in was. He came and when ribō-kē thaurē pahūchigirō, urō-nē gāvā-kō aur nāchwā-kō khalās house-of near came, him-by singing-of and dancing-of sound sunigulis. Aur urō-nē ēkō nukrēthā bulārs aur lakhārs ki, 'jī was-heard. And him-by one servant called and said that, 'this kā hubbār rairi?' Aur urō-nē urō-sē jī lakhārs ki, 'tērō chhōtō what going-on is?' And him-by him-to this said that, 'thy small bhaiyārā bagadi augirō. Tērā bāpō-nē khātari kari-gursē, kit-kū-ki urō brother returning came. Thy father-by feast done-was, because he achchhō nikō ā-gōgirō.' Tab urō-kū ris ā-gōgiri; bithī-sē urō-kō bapētō good well came.' Then him-to anger came; therefore him-of father ribō-sē likari-kē augadō rairō urō-kō manālō. Urō-nē lapētā-kū house-from having-come-out come was him entreated. Him-by father-to ūtar dīs, 'tā bāp tigi, itnē barsā-sē māi-nē tēri khabari answer was-given, 'thou father see, so-many years-from me-by thy service kērī; kabhai tēri batēli dīrauri nā; tau-bī tē-nē ēk rakriā-kō was-done; ever thy word was-broken not; still thee-by one goat-of rachchā mō-kū nā tillō ki apnā khyārā-kē saṅg rauj upādō; young-one me-to not was-given that own friends-of with merry might-make; pari jaisē jī tērō chūbkō ārō, irō-nē hurikiāpēchō-mē malēthō sab but when this thy son came, him-by adultery-in property all urā dīs, tē-nē urō-kō linē patēli dīnī.' Urō-nē squandering gave, thee-by him-of for-the-sake feast was-given.' Him-by

urō-sē lakhārs, 'ē chūbkā, tū sadā mērē ṭhaur rabbārō; jō mērē
 him-to said, 'O son, thou always of-me near art; what of-me
 pasēlē hubbārē, sō sab tērō-ī hubbārē. Ham khusi karugsā, kit-kū-ki
 near is, that all thine-only is. We merry shall-make, because
 tērō jī bhāiyarā marugirō, phēr jibbāt-kē; aur jī jādō rairō,
 thy this brother dead-was, again having-come-to-life; and he lost was,
 phēr ā-gōgirō.
 again came.'

The specimens received from Etawah are essentially of the same kind as the preceding ones. Note, however, the future forms *jānō*, I will go; *kahnō*, I will say, and the greater admixture of Hindōstānī.

[No. 33.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARI.

SPECIMEN IV.

DISTRICT ETAWAH.

Kisi kajarō-kē dō batrā thā. Ōchhō batrā-nē dā-sē kahī
Some man-of two sons were. Small son-by father-to it-was-said
 ki, 'arē dā, bihārō-mē jō mērō rīkā hai, mērō dē-dē.
that, 'O father, property-in which my share is, mine give.'
 Tab us-nē un-kō apni bihārō bāt dīnā. Bahut dīn
Then him-by them-to own property having-divided was-given. Many days
 [na] hōgā kī ōchhō batrā sab kuchh ikatthā kar-kē dūsrō
 [not] became that small son all whatever together having-made other
 mulk-kō gawā aur apni bihārō upāwā. Tab wā mulk-mē
country-to went and own wealth was-squandered. Then that country-in
 harō akāl pairō aur wah katgāl hō gawā. Aur wā
big famine fell and he destitute becoming went. And that
 mulk-kē rahandō-mē-sē ek-kī yahī rahan lagō, jis-nē usē apnē
country-of inhabitants-in-from one-of with to-live began, whom-by him own
 khētō-mē suar charān jālō. Aur un chhīmiyō-sē jinhē suar
fields-in swine to-tend was-sent. And those husks-from which swine
 khātē thē apnō udrō bhar līnhis, aur kōi na dēnē tō. Tab
eating were own belly filling took, and anybody not to-give was. Then
 usē chētany huē, tab wā-nē kahī ki, 'mērō dā-kō
to-him senses came, then him-by it-was-said that, 'my father-of
 kitnē majūrō-kō jāfat-sē barh rōṭī hōtī hai, aur māī
how-many servants-to food-from more bread becoming is, and I
 bhūkhō maddō hū. Māī utī-kē apnē dā dhīg jānō aur
with-hunger dying am. I having-arisen own father near will-go and
 wā-sē kahō ki, "hē dā, māī-nē baikuṇṭh-kē ultō āp-kē sūdhē
him-to will-say that, "O father, me-by heaven-of against you-of before
 pāp karō hai. Māī phir āp-kā batrā kahānē kām-kā nahī.
sin done is. I again your-Honour-of son to-be-called worthy not.
 Mujhē apnē majūrō-mē-sē ek-kē barabbār karwā."
Me own servants-in-from one-of like make."

The Farrukhabad specimens are also much mixed with Hindostāni. Note also Pañ-jābī terminations such as *bich*, *Eich*, *in*, and the doubling of consonants in words such as *laggā*, began. The general character of this form of Kanjari will be apparent from a perusal of the short specimen which follows.

[No. 34.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARI.

SPECIMEN V.

DISTRICT FARUKHABAD.

Ikk chōr kisū ghar-bich ghus-gayā aur andhērē-mā dhūdhnē laggā
One thief some house-in entering-went and darkness-in to-search began
 ki, 'kōi dāmō-dī chīj hath laggē, tō lai jāū.
that, 'some value-of thing hand may-be-applied, then taking may-go.'
 Achchānak ikk sandūkh par thukkar laggī. Chōr-nē utthā
Suddenly one box on stumbling was-applied. Thief-by having-lifted
 lā. Sandūkh bhāri thā. Man-vich suchchā ki, 'i-mā
was-taken. Box heavy was. Mind-in it-was-thought that, 'this-in
 māl huggā.' I-gal man-vich sōch ghar-sū bāhar andā
property will-be. This-matter mind-in thinking house-from out came
 aur ikk bagiyā-vich jhārī-dī ōt waith-kar kīl-sū tallā khōlnē
and one garden-in bush-of behind having-sat-down nail-with lock to-open
 laggā ki, 'unā-dā māl nikasū.' I kartā
began that, 'that-of property I-may-take-out.' This doing
 bājā-dī kōi kal chal-gai jī-sū bājā bājnē
musical-instrument-of some spring moving-went which-from instrument to-play
 laggā. Chōr-nē dar-dē mārē bājā patak-mārā aur sanūdē
began. Thief-by fear-of from instrument was-thrown-down and own
 jān lē-kar bhaggā. I bāg-dā māli chōr-dē paggān-dē
life taking fled. This garden-of gardener thief-of footstep-of
 āhat-sē jaggā aur dēkhnē laggā ki, 'i kē-gal hai?'
sound-from awake and to-see began that, 'this what-matter is?'
 Sarhi-dā jān parā ki jhārī-vich bājā-dē āwāj nikas
Him-of knowledge fell that bush-in instrument-of sound coming-out
 rahī hai. Tō i-kō chōr-sē kam dar nahī laggā.
remaining is. Then this-to thief-from small fear not was-attached.
 Dar-dē mārē māli bhī utthē-sū bhuggā aur bāg-dē mālik-sē
Fear-of on-account gardener also there-from fled and garden-of owner-to
 i-gal kaīndā ki, 'bagiyā-vich bhūt ā-gayō.' Ū-nē bagiyā
this-matter told that, 'garden-in spirit came.' Him-by garden
 ghēr-lai aur jhārī-dē ōt khusī karandā-hai.
was-surrounded and bush-of behind merriment made-is.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

A thief entered a house and began to search in the dark if he could find anything valuable. Suddenly he stumbled against a box, which he then carried away. The box was very heavy, and he thought that it might contain some property. Thus thinking he came out of the house and sat down behind a bush in a garden, and tried to open the lock with a nail in order to get at the property. By doing so he moved the spring of a musical instrument which then began to play. The thief got afraid, dropped the instrument and fled for his life. The gardener of the garden woke up from the sound of the thief's footsteps, and when he began to look into the matter, he found out that the sound of a musical instrument came out from the bush. He consequently became no less afraid than the thief. Therefore he fled and reported the matter to the owner of the garden, saying that a ghost had entered the garden. He had the garden surrounded and made a feast behind the bush.

In Belgium the speech of the Kanjars is known as Kanjari. Its general nature has been described above, and the specimens which follow do not present any difficulties. The first is a version of the Parable, and the second a popular allegory about the Sun. A Standard List of Words and Sentences will be found on pp. 180ff. It will be seen that some of the numerals registered in it are, as has already been remarked, Arabic.

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARI.

SPECIMEN VI.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Ekkan kajarō-ku jaudō baidā handā. Unā-mā nunkō baidō
One man-to two sons were. Them-among younger son
 apanē bāpō-ku sidārō, 'bāpō, tērō jindgi-mā mērō ēwākō hissō
own father-to said, 'father, thy property-in mine coming share
 mau-ku kidō.' Bāpō-nē unā-mā apani jindgi batwārō. Nunkō
me-to give.' Father-by them-among own property divided. Younger
 baidō apani hissō lēwar-ko dūr gaū-kō nikhar-ko bahut din
son own share taking far village-to having-gone many days
 hōrā-nā ittā-mā ē dūndi hōwār-ko apani jindgi sab
became-not this-much-in he riotous having-become own property all
 lutwārō. Ē aisō karwār-ko khūpar wō mulkō-mā chibaddō dukāl
wasted. He thus having-done after that country-in big famine
 girwār-ko urū-kī garibī awarri. Ē wō mulkō-mā ekkan
having-fallen him-of poverty came. He that country-in one
 kajarā-kē pās naukri rhairō. Wō kajarō urō-ku dukrē charāwā-ku
man-of near in-service stayed. That man him swine feeding-for
 apani khētō-ku lagā-dinū. Whā bhūkō-dē talmal-ko dukrē
own field-to employing-gave. There hunger-from having-suffered swine
 khāndāsō bhussō-bi thūr-ko pētō bharwār-lēndō, phir-tu urū-ku
eaten husks-even having-eaten belly filling-took, but him-to
 kirō-kē pās-dē kā-bi milwārō-nā. Aisō-ch thōdā din
anybody-of near-from anything-even was-got-not. Thus few days
 hurā, apani pichawādkē batēli yād hōwār-ko ē apani
became, own former state remembrance having-become he own
 ji-mā dusārō, 'mērō bāpō-kē hyā aisā bahutdē naukri-ku pētō
mind-in said, 'my father-of with so many servants-to belly
 bharwār-ko jāstī hōwār-ittō khanētō milwāddō; phir-tu hyā
having-filled excess becoming-so-much food is-got; but here
 māi-tō bhukā-dē mardū. Māi khuṭ-ko mērō bāpō-kē
I-on-my-side hunger-from dying-am. I having-arisen my father-of
 hyā nikhar-ko dusārō, "bāpō, māi mahābūb-kō pāp awar
there having-gone say, "O-father, I God-of sin and

bāpō-kō pāp bandwār linō. Maī tērō baidō kar-ko bōl-lēwā-ku
father-of sin attaching took. I thy son saying to-be-called
 byādik-mā; mau-ku ekkan naukrō-kē sarikō tērō najik rakhwār-tē."
worthy-not; me one servant-of like of-thee near keeping-take."
 E whā-dō khut-ko * apani bāpō-kē pās awarō, bāpō-nē urō-ku
He there-from having-arisen own father-of near coming, father-by him-to
 dūrū-dē dikhwār-ko mayā awar-ko bhagwār-nikhar-ko chaukaḍ-
far-from having-seen pity having-come running-going embrace-
 lē-ko chummā dinō. Tabi baidō bāpō-ku dūsārō, 'bāpō,
having-taken kiss was-given. Then son father-to said, 'father,
 maī mahābūb-kā sambūr tērō sambūr takhsīr karō-hū. Mau-ku
I God-of before of-thee before sin done-have. Me
 tērō baidō kar-ko dūsārō-nā.' Use bāpō-nē apanē naukrō-ku
thy son having-said to-be-said-not. That father-by own servants-to
 sidārō, 'uñchō libās lawar-ko mērō baidā-ku pināw; ungalya-mā
was-said, 'high dress having-brought my son-to put-on; finger-on
 aṅgōṭī ḍalwārō, guṇḍālē-mā jūtā ḍalwārō; khanēṭā-ki tayārī
ring put, feet-on shoes put; dinner-of preparation
 karwār. Hamē thur-kō khuśāl hōwnūgā. Kaikutu yō mērō
make. We having-eaten merry shall-become. Because this my
 baidō mar-gōdō, phir jān awarri; gawānde-gaudō, millō-hē.' Yē
son died, again life came; lost-gone, found-is. This
 sunwār-ko sārā khuśāl hurā.
having-heard all merry became.

Yē baktō-ku urō-kō chibaddō baidō khētō-mā handō. E
This time-at his big son field-in was. He
 nandō-kē pās awarāsō baktō-mā urō-ku gāṇō awar raṅg sunwār
house-of near coming time-in him-to singing and dancing hearing
 awarō. E naukar-mā-dē ekkan-ku chaulā-ko, 'kā challō
came. He servants-in-from one-to having-called, 'what going-on
 hē? ' dūsār-ko puchwārō. Use ē sidārō, 'tērō bhai
is? ' having-said asked. That-to he said, 'thy brother
 awarō-hē, ē khuśī-de awar-ko pohacharō, urū-ko wāsdē tērō
come-is, he happily having-come arrived, him-of for-the-sake thy
 bāpō-nē khanēṭō karwārō-hē.' Yō sunwār-ko urō-kō chibaddō baidō
father-by feast made-is. This having-heard his big son
 khandar gaugrō-nā. Us 'wāsdē urō-kō bāpō-nē bhār awar-ko,
inside went-not. That for his father-by outside having-come,
 'khandar awar,' kar-ko urū-ku bahut sidārō. Use ē apanē
'inside come,' having-said him-to much was-said. That-to he own

bāpō-ku dusārō, 'maī itnā bars-laga tērō naukri karwār-ko kabi
father-to said, 'I so-many years-for thy service having-done ever
 tērō bateli tudwādō-nā. Phir-tō-bi maī mērō dōstaī-ku milwār-lē-ko
thy word broke-not. But I my friends-to having-collected
 khanētō karwār-ke wāsdē yō mau-ku ekkan bakrā bi
feast making-of for-the-sake thou me-to one goat even
 dīnō-nā. Phir-tu rāṇḍaū-ke sōbatī-mā paḍwād-ko tērō sārī jindgi
given-not. But harlots-of company-in having-fallen thy all property
 mīngal-līnōdo yō tērō baidō nandō-ku ārō barōbar yō
having-devoured this thy son house-to coming immediately by-thee
 urō-ke wāsdē khanētō karwārō-hē. Bāpō-nē baidā-ku dusārō,
him-of for-the-sake feast made-is. Father-by son-to said,
 'yō mērō sangāt nit-rōj rahēndō. Mērō pās hē, sō sārī
'thou of-me with all-days art. My near is, that all
 tērī-ch hē. Mar-gausō tērō bhai, phir-ku jidē utrō hē;
thine-only is. Dead thy brother, again alive arisen is;
 gam-gaudō-sō, milwādō hē. Aisō hamē khuṣī hōwār-ku byādik hē.
lost-gone, found is. Thus we merry being-for proper is.'

[No. 36.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARI.

SPECIMEN VII.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Baidō, maī kōn? mērō nām kā? urō-ku mālum hē kā? Maī
 Boy, I who? my name what? you-to known is what? I
 agarib-dē āndū, awar maī ārō barōhar dīn nigarō. Yō utawā-ko
 east-from come, and I come immediately day comes. You arising
 bakhat hurrō-to maī mērō sunnā-kē sōrikō hattōtō tērō khidki-mā-dē
 time comes-then I my gold-of like hand your window-in-from
 lambō karwār-ko yurō-ku uthāndū. Yō bichhānā-pō padwād rhaiko
 stretched having-made you awaken. You bed-on falling remaining
 wāsdē maī āndū-nā. Yō utwār-ko nhawā-ku wāsdē kitāb padwā-ko
 for I come-not. You having-risen to-bathe for books to-read
 wāsdē sāli-ku nikharwā-ke wāsdē maī āndū. Maī nīrō chālwarnēwālō hū.
 for school-to to-go for I come. I good walker am.
 Maī rastō chālwar-ko asmān-mā phir-ko awarwā-ku ekkaṇ dīn
 I road having-walked sky-in returning coming-for one day
 hōnū. Maī kabī thagadū-nā, rahāt-bī-nā. Mērō śir-pō jhalak
 becomes. I ever get-tired-not, halt-also-not. My head-on shining
 sunnā-ki tāj hē. Us-ki chamakdē maī chau-taraph phēkadū-hē.
 gold-of crown is. That-of light I four-directions throwing-am.
 Niwāṇi-pō nandū-pō dzhādā-pō mērō jhāl phailāndū. Mērō chamakdē girrōsō,
 Water-on houses-on trees-on my rays spread. My light fallen,
 sab chijē khapsūrat awar rōṣanī nājar āndī. Maī yurō-ku ujālō dēndū,
 all things beautiful and shining sight go. I you-to light give,
 awar dhūp bī maī-ch dēndū. Maī phalāri awar anāj pakāndū. Maī
 and sunshine also I-alone give. I fruit and corn ripen. I
 asmānō-mā bahut khuñchō hū. Sabī dzhādān-dē dōngarān-dē abar-dē
 sky-in much high am. All trees-than mountains-than clouds-than
 maī khuñchō hū.
 I high am.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

Boy, do you know who I am and what my name is? I come from the east. The moment I come, the day breaks. When it is time for you to get up, I stretch forth my golden hand through your window and awake you. I don't come to see you lying in bed. I come that you should be up and bathe, read your books and go to school. I am a fast traveller. I take but one day to travel round the whole sky. I am never tired nor do I ever halt. I have a shining gold crown upon my head. I throw its light in all directions. I spread my rays over water, houses and trees. All things that are lit up by me look beautiful and brilliant. I give you light as well as heat. I ripen fruit and corn. I am very high in the sky. I am high up above trees, clouds and mountains.

KUCHBANDHĪ.

The Kuchbandhīs are a subdivision of the Kanjars. They make the *kūcā*, or brush used by weavers for cleaning thread, and also apply themselves to other of the usual occupations of the Kanjars. A specimen of the so-called Kuchbandhī dialect has been forwarded from the Bahraich District of the United Provinces, the principal language of which is Awadhī. The first lines of it will, however, be sufficient to show that this Kuchbandhī simply is a mixture of Awadhī and Rājasthānī of the same kind as ordinary Kanjarī. Note the genitive suffix *rā* and the word *gīhar*, man. Some remarks about the argot of the Kuchbandhīs will be found in Mr. Kirkpatrick's paper quoted under Authorities above on p. 97. It is of exactly the same kind as the secret language of other Kanjars, and, like similar argots, it is called *Pārsī*, or, according to Mr. Kirkpatrick, *Pāsī*.

[No. 37.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARI.

KUCHBANDHI DIALECT.

DISTRICT BAHRAICH.

Ēk gihar-kē dui batrā rahin. Arō-mā-tē chhōtkawā batrū aprē
One man-of two sons were. Them-in-from younger son own
 bāpū-tē kahis ki, 'hē bāpū, kōhri-mā jāun hamrō hīsā hōē
father-to said that, 'O father, property-in which my share may-be
 taun bātū dēō.' Tab-hī bāt dīnhō. Thōrē din bitrē
that dividing give.' Then dividing was-given. Few days passed
 chhōtkawā batrū sab hīsā aprō jamā kīnhō ēk mulkō-rō
younger son all share own together made one country-of
 pardēsō chal gayō au uhā aprō mālō chalakī-mā urā
foreign-place going went and there own property wickedness-in wasting
 dīnhō. Jab kauṛī nahī rah gayō tabē ū mulkō-mā
was-given. When a-cowrie not remaining went then that country-in
 barō kāl pirō. Tab ū garīb hōnō lagrō aur ū mulkō-rō ēk
big famine fell. Then he poor to-be began and that country-of one
 basaiā-kō ghar kām karnō lagrō. Ū arō-kō ī kahis ki,
inhabitant-of in-house work to-do began. He him-to this said that,
 'khētān-mā suar char hāō.'
'fields-in swine tending take.'

NATĪ.

The Nat̥s are dancers, acrobats and prostitutes and they are found scattered over a wide area. Their total number as returned at the Census of 1911 was 126,428, distributed as follows :—

Number of Nat̥s.	Assam	5,143
	Bengal	9,979
	Bihar and Orissa	5,651
	Central Provinces and Berar	11,385
	United Provinces	68,376
	Central India Agency	10,090
	Rajputana Agency	8,447
	Elsewhere	7,357
TOTAL		126,428

The name Nat̥ is a Prakrit-Sanskrit word and means 'dancer,' 'actor.' It does not connote any definite tribe but comprises many different clans, who are only linked together by their common occupation. Numerous names of sub-tribes have been returned from the various districts. Thus we find Baisiyās and Banjārās in Mainpuri, Bēriyās in Etawah, Brijbāsīs, who state that they come from Braj, in Bahraich, Pahārī Bhābars in Rampur, Pastos, Tasmabāz, and so forth. This simply means that any tribe may be represented among the people acting as Nat̥s.

In such circumstances we cannot expect to find a separate language spoken by the Nat̥s. In the information collected for the purposes of this Survey there figures a Nat̥ language, returned under the name of *nat̥-ki bōlī*, with or without specifying additions such as Brijbāsī-Pastō, etc. The figures are as follows :—

Bengal	4,584
Bhagalpur	4,584
United Provinces	6,950
Aligarh	250
Mainpuri	2,000
Etawah	400
Bijnor	1,000
Rampur	300
Khari	2,500
Bahraich	500
<hr/>	
TOTAL	11,534

The specimens received from the districts, however, show that there is no such dialect as Nat̥ī. The various clans classed together under the head of Nat̥s speak the dialect of their neighbours. Like many other wandering tribes, however, they have a professional argot, made up by disguising ordinary words in the same way as in Criminal Sāsī. This argot has

Nat̥ Argot.

nothing to do with grammar. The underlying dialect is either the ordinary vernacular or a mixture of forms derived from different dialects, such as we might reasonably expect in the mouth of travelling professionals who roam over a wide area and who are recruited from more than one tribe or clan. The specimens printed below will, however, show that the dialect of the Nats of the United Provinces contains an unmistakable admixture of Rājasthānī. Thus we find forms such as *batrā*, sons; *batrā-nē*, by the son, in addition to the regular *batrē-nē*, by the son; *gayō*, went; and *lilpā*, went, in Mainpuri, and so forth. Some few details will be mentioned later on. It therefore seems as if those Nats whose speech is represented in our specimens have come from or at least spent some time in Rājasthān. The specimens will, however, also show that these Rājasthānī features are too few and too little thoroughgoing to justify us in classing Natī as even a debased form of Rājasthānī. What is meant under the denominations *Natī* and *Natī ki bōlī* is not a definite dialect but the professional argot of the Nats.

As in the case of Sāsī the argot of the Nats contains several peculiar words such as *bōrā*, boy; *būnā*, *chhāī*, water; *chhumkar*, day; *chilapnā*, go; *dimnā*, *ḍutnā*, eat; *gēm*, *gnīm*, thief; *kājā*, cultivator, squire; *khollā*, house; *khum*, mouth; *lagnā*, die; *lōd*, *nāḍ*, bull; *nāl*, night; *tiyārgā*, that (person or thing) concerned; *ḥōgnā*, drink; *ṭuṇḍā*, pig, and so forth. Most of such words are known from other argots and dialects such as Sāsī and cannot yet be explained etymologically. Some such terms taken down from the mouth of some Tasmabūz residents of Cawnpore have been printed on pp. 314-318 of the *Selections from the Government Records North Western Provinces and Oudh*, Vol. i. 1862.

The great majority of Natī slang words, however, have been taken from the common Aryan vocabulary of Northern India. To prevent outsiders from understanding them, they are then disguised in the same way as in the argot of the Sāsīs and others. One and the same word can be made unrecognizable in several ways and accordingly assume many different forms.

I have not noted any certain instances of mere transposition. Compare, however, *khum*, mouth (Bijnor); *chūbkā* = *bachchā*, young (Mainpuri).

The prefixing of a consonant, which then often supersedes an old initial, on the other hand, is very common.

A *k* is prefixed in forms such as *kōṭ*, eighth (Rampur); *kōdmī*, man; and substituted for an initial *b* in *kāṭ*, share (Mainpuri). *Kh* is much more common. Compare *khi-mālai*, property; *khimērā*, my; *khandar*, inside; *khakāl*, famine; *khōḥā*, small; *khin*, day; *khēṭai*, belly; *khaināi*, having put on; *khād*, after; *khujhā*, me (all from Mainpuri); *khachchī*, water; *khunaddi*, river; *khapānī*, water; *khaddā*, big one, Sir; *khakhēḍiā*, wolf (all from Bijnor); *khanēṭ*, belly (Rampur), and so forth.

Ch is substituted for an old labial in words such as *chakar*, seize, Hindōstānī *pakar*; *khachhōṭē*, speaking, cf. Hindōstānī *bōlnā*, in the Bijnor specimens. *Chh* is similarly used in words such as *chhūkal*, hungering; *chhulk* = *mulk*, country (Mainpuri); *chhūd* = *bahut*, much (Rampur), etc. The soft palatals are also used as substitutes for labials in *jaṭūp* = *bātā*, share; *jarā* = *barā*, big (Rampur); *jhurā* = *burā*, evil; *jhaiyā* = *bhaiyā*, brother (Mainpuri), but also in cases such as *jhēk*, one; *jhakāl*, famine (Bhagalpur).

Of dental substitutes we may note *thāmnē* = *sāmnē*, before (Rampur), and the frequent use of *n*, *nh*; thus, *nēt* = *khēt*, field; *nātti* = *chhāti*, breast; *naulāj* = *mahlāj*, wanting; *namā* = *samā*, together (Mainpuri); *nichhē* = *pichhē*, after; *nammēśvar* = *paramēśvar*, God; *nāth* = *sāt*, seven; *nū* = *tū*, thou; *nē* = *thē*, were; *nhē* = *chhē*, six (Rampur), and so forth.

Of labials we may note, *ph* in *phēr*, three (Rampur); *b* in forms such as *bēg*, one; *bithē*, to him (Mainpuri); *bōr* = *aur*, and; *bāki*, watchman (Rampur); and *m* in words such as *mahā* = *kahā*, said; *myō* = *kyā*, why? *māhtā* = *chāhtā*, wishing; *miār* = *pyār*, love; *māt* = *bād*, after, and so forth in the Mainpuri specimens. The form *marluk*, dead, is probably of another kind, the base *mar* being prefixed to the base *lug*, to die. In some of the Mainpuri specimens the old initial which has been replaced by *m* is subsequently added at the end of the word; thus, *mētkhē* = *khēt*, field; *musikhē* = *khusi*, merry; *mōlāchhē-nē* = *chhōfē-nē*, by the younger one; *mēfēbē* = *bēfē*, sons; *māpbē* = *bāp*, father; *mērātē* = *tērā*, thy; *mnarsē* = *sūar*, swine, and so forth.

Of other substitutes we may note *l* in *lilpā* = *chalā*, went; *latchālī* = *bodchālī*, bad conduct (Mainpuri); *r* in *rān* = *kān*, ear; *rahat* = *khēt*, field (Rampur); *rōska* = *chhōfā*, small; *rābhō* = *sab*, all (Bhagalpur), and so on. *R* is also used instead of *g* in the List of Words and Sentences from Rampur printed below on pp. 180ff., in the word *tiyārgī rāē*, cow, where *rāē* corresponds to Hindōstānī *gāē*, while *tiyārgī* is a pronoun meaning 'that thing just mentioned.'

As in the case of other argots we also find words disguised by means of additions at the end. Note forms such as *khētai* = *pēt*, belly; *khimālai* = *māl*, property (Mainpuri); *labā* = *lab*, direction (Bijnor), and several consonantal additions. Such are, *k* and *g* in forms such as *kaugā* and *kākā*, said; *gaugā*, went; *rangā*, stayed; *paugā*, got (Mainpuri); *ch* and *j* in *hōchā*, was (Rampur); *kujā*, made (Bijnor); cerebrals in forms such as *lagādnā*, to apply (Bijnor); *lugāfnā*, to beat (Rampur); *puchhacārō*, asked (Mainpuri); *t* in forms such as *khābāptā*, father (Etawah); *p* in verbs such as *deppō*, give; *lilpō*, went; *liypōi*, applying; *karpā*, made (Mainpuri), and so on. Note also *dhūr* = *dō*, two; *bāpsā-kē*, of the father (Rampur); *kālnā*, to do, and the curious forms *jāturnā*, go; *ālurnā*, come (Mainpuri); *ālre*, came (Rampur); *jāsurtā*, going (Rampur); *āsarā*, came (Bijnor), and so forth.

It will be seen from the figures given above on p. 121 that most speakers of Natī in the United Provinces have been returned from the western part of the Province, from Etawah in the south to Bijnor in the north. We are comparatively best informed about the state of affairs in Mainpuri. There are several tribes in the district who make use of the Natī slang, such as the Baisiyās, the Banjārās, the Habūras, the Kanjars and the Kalabāz. The base is apparently everywhere the current Hindōstānī dialect with a tissue of Rājasthānī. This element has not been organically mixed up with the underlying Hindōstānī, but Rājasthānī forms are occasionally used side by side with the ordinary ones. Thus we find instances of the nominative in *ō*, the oblique base in *ā* and the plural in *ā* of strong masculine bases; compare *rajēfō chindā hoichchō*, there was a rich man, but commonly forms such as *jharā bafrā hoichchā*, the big son was (in the fields); *bafrā-nē* and *bafrē-nē*, by the son; *dhōr bafrā hoichchē*, there were two sons, and so forth. The version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son which follows well illustrates this form of speech. It has been taken down from the mouth of a Baisiyā.

[No. 38.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ (BAISIYĀ).

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT MAINPURI.

Bēg rajēttē-kē dhōr batrā hoichchē. Uthi-mē-thi khōtē batrā-nē
One man-of two sons were. Them-in-from small son-by
 chhūarā-thi kangā ki, 'ēyō chhūarā, khimālai-kā khissā khimērā
father-to it-was-said that, 'O father, property-of share mine
 hoichchā hai thō khujhē deppi deppō.' Tō tabi ūthi-nē khimālai-kī
becoming is that me having-given give. And then him-by property-of
 kāi kalli deppā. Thōrē khinō-kē khād khōtē batrē-nē sabi
shares having-made was-given. Few days-of after small son-by all
 kuchhī namā kull-kē bēg dūr-kī khulk-kō līpā. Wahā khapnā
whatever together having-made one distant country-to went. There own
 khimālai kuchālī khurāē deppā. Aur jabī sabī
property in-bad-conduct having-wasted was-given. And when all
 hoichchī gaugā ūthi khulk-mē jharā khakal hoichchā, aur wah
having-ceased went that country-in big famine became, and he
 nautāj hoichchī gaugā. Tabi ūthi khulk-kā bēg rajēttō chindā
in-want having-become went. Then that country-of one man rich
 hoichchō, jithi-kē wah ligpi jālurā. Aur ūthi-nē ūthi-kō khapnē
was, whom-of he employed went. And him-by him own
 nētō-mē taundā dimānē-kō khutāi deppā. Aur wah lugtā
fields-in swine feeding-for having-sent was-given. And he dying
 hoichchā ki ūthi chhilkō-thē jō taundā dimmatā hoichchā, khapnā
became that those husks-from which pig eating was, own
 khētāi jharī leppē, kī kōi ūthē deppatā khatī hoichchā.
belly having-filled may-take, as anyone him giving not was.
 Jabī khōs-mē ālurā, kangā, 'khimērē chhūarā-kē khitnē kōdmi
When sense-in came, it-was-said, 'my father-of so-many men(-to)
 tāwālī hoichchati hai; māī chhūkāl lugtā hū. Māī khuth-kē khapnē
bread becoming is; I by-hunger dying am. I having-arisen own
 chhūarā pās līpūgā aur ūthi-thē kaugūgā ki, "ēyō chhūarā, māī-nē
father near will-go and him-to will-say that, "O father, me-by
 khagās-kā aur tērā jhurā kālā; abī ithī nāik khatī rahyō hoichchū
heaven-of and of-thee sin was-done; now this fit not remained am

ki tērā batrā kaugī deppi jālurē. Khujhē khapnē
that thy son having-said having-given I-may-go. Me own
 kōdmī-mē-thē bēg-ki nāfik khañāi leppō." Tabī khuth-kē khapnē
men-in-from one-of like having-taken take." Then having-arisen own
 chhūarā pas līpā. Aur wah abī dūr hoichehā ki utthī-kō naukhtē
father near went. And he yet far was that him seeing
 khī utthī-kē chhūarā-kō miār ālurā, aur līp-kē utthī-kō nāttī-thē
immediately him-of father-to love came, and having-gone him breast-to
 līgpāi leppā aur utthī-kē khitnē khītā leppi leppā.
having-clasped was-taken and him-of so-many kisses having-taken were-taken.
 Batrē-nē utthī-thī kaugā ki, 'ēyō chhūarā, māī-nē khagās-ka aur
Son-by him-to it-was-said that, 'O father, we-by heaven-of and
 tērā jhūrā kūllā, aur khatī ki phūr tērā batrā kōī kaugē.
of-thee sin was-done, and it-is-not that again thy son anyone may-call.'
 Chhūarā-nē khapnē kōdmīyō-thī kaugī deppā ki, 'chindā chindā
Father-by own men-to having-said it-was-given that, 'good good
 tūpkē leppi ālurō, aur utthī deppi deppō; aur utthī-ki
clothes having-taken come, and to-him having-given give; and him-of
 khangurī-mē khangūthī aur utthī-kē pāw-mē rēwriyā khaināi deppō; aur
finger-on ring and him-of feet-on shoes having-put-on give; and
 hamī dimmē aur nusi khañāē ki yahi mōrā batrā lugi jālurā
we may-eat and merry may-make as this my son having-died gone
 hoichehē, thō chindā ālurā; hūrā bī khatī hoichehē jānē kiya
was, he alive came; anywhere even not is to-know where
 gaugī rā, abī ālurā hoichehē. Tabī nusi kūllnē raugā.
having-gone stayed, now come is.' Then merry to-make began.

Aur utthī-kā jharā batrā nētō-mē hoichehā. Jabī khakān-kē-tē ālurā
And him-of big son fields-in was. When house-of-near came
 aur khineh-ki khawāj namjā, tabī bēg kōdmī-kō kaugā lī, 'yē
and dancing-of sound was-heard, then one man-to it-was-said that, 'this
 kyā hoichehā hai?' Aur utthī-nē bithō kaugā ki, 'tērā jhāiyā
what become is?' And him-by to-him it-was-said that, 'thy brother
 ālurā hoichehē, aur tērē chhūarā-nē jharī chindī dimmnā-kō kūllā hai ki
come is, and thy father-by very good feasting-for made is as
 bithō chindā ālurā naukhā. Uthī-nē kīthā hoichehī gaugī ki
him well come was-seen.' Him-by angry having-become went that
 bith khakān-kē khandar khatī jālurē. Tabī utthī-kē chhūarā-nē biyā-thē
that house-of inside not will-go. Then him-of father-by there-from
 ālur-kē utthī namjāyā. Uthī-nē chhūarā-thī cheotō-mē kaugā,
having-come him it-was-entreated. Him-by father-to answer-in it-was-said,

‘naukh, itnē baras-thē maī tēri nidmat kulltā hoichchē, aur khadī
‘see, so-many years-from I thy service doing am, and ever
 tērē kaugnē-thī khattī khatī kullā, ki tū-nē khadī bēg khakriyā-kā
thy order-from no not was-done, that thee-by ever one she-goat-of
 chūbkā khujhē khatī deppā, ki khapnē khiyāwrō-kē saṅgi nusi
young-one to-me not was-given, that own friends-of with merry
 kullnō. Aur jab tērā yah batrā alurō jithī-nē tērā khimālāi
to-make. And when thy this son came whom-by thy property
 rajēttiyō-mē khurāi deppā, tū-nē uthī-kē mātthē jhapī
women-among having-wasted was-given, thee-by him-of for-the-sake very
 chindā dimmnē-kō kullā.’ Uthī-nē uthī kaogā, ‘ēyō batrē, tū
good feasting-for was-made.’ Him-by to-him it-was-said, ‘O son, thou
 sadā mērai pās hoichchā hai, aur jō-kuchh mērā hoichchē, thē tērā
always of-me near become art, and whatever mine is, that thine
 hoichchē. Ki nusi hōnā nājim hoichchē ki tērā yah jhāiyā lugā
is. But merry to-be proper is as thy this brother dead
 hoichchā, thē chindā alurā; aur hurā bī khatī hoichchā, thē abī
was, he well came; and anywhere even not was, he now
 alurā hoichchē.’
come is.’

The specimen which follows represents the same kind of Hindōstānī mixed with Rājasthānī. Compare Rājasthānī forms such as *khuz-kō bayō mēfābē* (i.e. *bēfā*), his younger son; *māpbai*, i.e. *bāpai*, by the father; *mājūrā-kō*, to the servants; *bhayō-chhā*, had become; *rauchhū*, I remain; *mahō* and *mahā*, said, and so on. Most forms are, however, ordinary Hindōstānī. The specimen has been taken down from the mouth of a Baisiyā. It differs from the preceding one in the common practice of suffixing the original initial of disguised words; thus, *mānēgā=gānē*, singing; *mūtājū=jūtā*, shoe, and so forth.

[No. 39.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ (BAISIYĀ).

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT MAINPURI.

Khēk makassē dōs mēṭēlē thē. Un-mā-sē mōṭāchhē-nē
 One man-to two sons were. Them-in-from younger-by
 mahā, *māphē, khimāl-kā khissā khimārā mujhē dē. Tab
 it-was-said, 'father, property-of share mine to-me give.' Then
 us-nē khimāl unhē māṭi diyā. Thōrai dīn-kē māt
 him-by property to-them dividing was-given. Few days-of after
 mōṭōchhē mēṭēlē sab-kō mahāj kar-kē khēk dūr-kī chhulak-kō
 younger son all together having-done one distant country-to
 mupōrsē kiya. Wahā apnā māl ladchālī khurpāyā.
 journey was-made. There own property in-bad-conduct was-squandered.
 Jab sab mīr-chukā-kīr-chukā us chhulak-mē barā khakāl parā.
 When all had-been-wasted-away that country-in big famine fell.
 Khus chhulak-mē khēk khirais-kē yahā khajā lagā.
 That country-in one squire-of place having-gone was-employed.
 Khus-nō khusē khapnē mēṭkhē muarsē charāban gōchā. Wah
 Him-by him own in-fields mine to-feed it-was-sent. He
 māṭhā thā khā khun mīrkāchhē jō muarsē mātēkhē, apnā
 wishing was that those kuskā which mine eat, own
 māṭayai bharē, khī kōi khusē na dātā thā. Jab
 belly may-fill, that anyone him not giving was. When
 hōsh-mē bhayō-chhā, mahā kī, 'merē māphē-kē mājūrā-kō
 sense-in become-had, it-was-said that, 'my father-of servants-to
 bahut kharōṭi hāi. Khimāi bhūkhō martā hū. Khimāi
 much breads are. I with-hunger dying am. I
 khuth-kē apnē māphē-kā pas jāṅgā aur khusē kahṅgā, "ai
 having-arisen own, father-of near will-go and to-him will-say, "O
 māphē, khāsmān-kā khaur mēratē munāgai kiya; ab is
 father, heaven-of and of-thee sin was-done; now this
 laik nāṭhū rōchhū khī tērā mēṭābē kahṅyū; mujhē apnē
 fit not am that thy son may-be-called; me own
 mājūrā-mē khēk-sā banā." Tabkī khuth-kē apnē māphē-kē
 servants-in one-like make." Then having-arisen own father-of

pās gayō-chhā. Wah abhī khudār hatō, khusē lakh-kē
 near went. He yet far was, him having-seen
 khus-kē māpbē khirahm bhayō ; khidaur-kē usai malōgē
 him-of to-father pity became ; having-run him to-neck
 khilagāī layō aur bahut khimōmāchē. Mēṭēbē-nē khus
 having-clasped was-taken and much kissed. Son-by to-him
 kōkā, 'ai māpbē, mē-nē agās-kā aur khitērē-kā munāgai
 it-was-said, 'O father, me-by heaven-of and thee-of sin
 kiya ; is kābil naithū rauchhū ki tērā mēṭābē
 was-done ; this worth not am that thy son
 kahlāyū. Māpbai apnē nōkarō-ko mahā ki,
 I-may-be-called. By-the-father own servants-to it-was-said that,
 'achchhi achchhi mōsākayē khinikās lāō, usē mahdhāē
 'good good dresses having-taken-out bring, him putting-on
 dō, khus-kē khāth-mē khāngūthī aur mābyē-mē mūṭājā mahdhāē
 give, him-of hand-on ring and foot-on shoes putting-on
 dō, aur ham musikhē manāē, myō-ki mērō mēṭābē islūk
 give, and we merry may-make, because my son dead
 gayō hatō, ab mujī gayō ; mōkhāē gayō, ab milē gayō.
 gone was, now alive went ; lost went, now found went.
 Tab wē musikhē karnē lagē.
 Then they merry to-make began.
 Khus-kō barō mēṭābē mēṭakhē-mē hatō. Jab marghē-kē
 Him-of big son field-in was. When house-of
 nazdik āyō mānēgā aur ginchō-bartō-kī awāz sulpi.
 near came singing-of and dancing-of sound was-heard.
 Tab khēk khinōkar bulākē puchhwārō ki, 'yah kai
 Then one servant having-called it-was-asked that, 'this what
 hai ? Khus-nē khusē mahō ki, 'tērā mabhāī āyō ;
 is ? Him-by to-him it-was-said that, 'thy brother came ;
 hus-kī tērā māpbē-nē barī māfat karī, is liyē ki
 him-of thy father-by big feast was-made, this for that
 bhalō māṭgōchī pāyō. Mussā kī, na chāhā khandar
 good sound was-got. Anger was-made, not wished inside
 ki jāē. Tab khus-kē māpbē-nē khimanpāyā. Khun-nē
 that may-go. Then him-of father-by was-remonstrated. Him-by
 bāp-nē jawāb mēlō ki, 'lakh, itnē marashē tērī
 father-to answer was-given that, 'see, so-many years thy
 mijbat karpātō, khabhū tērē khukm-kē mubarkhilāf na chālē.
 service doing-was, ever thy order-of against not went.

Tū-nē kabhi khaik makarbi-kā bachchā na diyā ki
Thee-by ever one goat-of young-one not was-given that
 apnē mōstdē-kē māsthē musikhē manāyū. Jab yah mētābē
own friends-of with merry might-make. When this son
 tērā āyō jā-nō tērā māl mēshyāē-mē urāyō, tū-nā
thy came whom-by thy property harlots-among was-casted, thee-by
 khus-kā liyē barī māftaj karpī. Khus-nē khus-sē
him-of sake-for big feast was-made. Him-by him-to
 lōpī, 'ai mētēbē, tū salā mērē māsyāi hai, aur
it-was-said, 'O son, thou always of-me near art, and
 jō-kuchh mērā hai sō khitērā hai. Khimuskhē manānā
whatever mine is that thine is. Merry to-make
 khisuskhē hōnā marūrjē thā, myū-ki tērā yah mahhāi marink
happy to-be necessary was, because thy this brother dead
 gayō, sō mījiyāō; aur mukhāē gayō thō, sō ab milyō
went, he reviced; and lost gone was, he now found
 hai.
 is.

A third specimen from the Mainpuri District, which has been forwarded under the head of Natī, is of the same kind as the preceding one. It contains the statement of a Nat about a theft.

[No. 40.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATL.

SPECIMEN III.

DISTRICT MAINPURI.

Mōrich bhāi; us-mē khaik mutiwā gaō chhō. Khaik mariwa
Theft was; that-in one kettle lost was. One jug
 gai chhō. Dō gamāri thē gaiē. Phir mānēthē-mē gayā.
lost was. Two plates were gone. Then police-station-in went.
 Mē-nē rapat karpi jāi mānathdār āyā likh
Me-by report having-made having-gone police-officer came writing
 likhāē-kē, phir marōgādi khapnē mānēthē-kō chalē
having-caused-to-be-written, then the-inspector own station-to moved
 gayō. Kuehlik nāyī mil-āyō. Marōgādi-kai māsthē chār sipāhi
went. Anything not being-found-came. Inspector-of with from soldiers
 tin maukiehdār āyō thē. Mandrah wā solāh khādmī marōgādi-nē
three watchmen come were. Fifteen or sixteen men inspector-by
 khikkitthē karpē tamānā-kī talāshī layī ki, 'is nat-kī
collected were-made house-of search was-taken that, 'this nat-of
 mōrich hō gai yā nāhī.' Khaik khādmī-nē un-mē-sē
theft having-become went or not.' One man-by them-in-from
 mahā ki, 'mē-rē mōrich kartē mēkhādē thē.
it-was-said that, 'me-by theft doing seen were.
 Makashāy-sē miwāldē-māi khaidi phāi dayō,
Instrument-for-house-breaking-by wall-in hole having-broken was-given,
 us wakat gūmī karpāt thē, sō bālī bachchē jag parpāi.
that time theft doing were, then young children awaking got-up.
 Tab gaim bhāj gayē. Mānathdār-nē mērā khinsāf nāhī
Then thieves running-away went. Police-officer-by of-me justice not
 kiya. Tabkhi mē-nē khidiptī sāhab-kē yāhā kharjī dāi.
was-done. Then me-by deputy sahib-of with petition was-given.
 Tab khidiptī sāhab-nē magwāh buliyāē aur khun-kā izhār
Then deputy sahib-by witnesses were-called and them-of statement
 paugā, 'sach lōpat ki mōrich bhāi ki nāhī bhāi.' Khimañ
was-got, 'truth tell that theft was or not was.' I
 bilkulkhi lut gayō. Khajūr mērā khinsāf nāhī karēgē,
wholly robbed went. Your-Honour of-me justice not will-make,
 tō māi mar jāūgā.
then I dying shall-go.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

A theft has been committed, and one kettle, one jug, and two plates have been stolen. I went to the police station, and made a report. The police officer wrote it down. Then the Inspector went to his station. Nothing had been found. Four police soldiers and three watchmen had come with the Inspector. The Inspector then collected fifteen or sixteen men and searched the house to find out if a theft had been committed in my house or not. One of them said that he had seen the thieves at work. The wall had been broken by an instrument, and while they were stealing, the children woke and got up. The thieves then ran away. The police officer, however, did not do me justice, and so I filed a petition with the Deputy Commissioner. The Deputy Commissioner called witnesses and took their statement, asking them to tell the truth whether a theft had been committed or not. I have been totally robbed, and if your Honour will not do justice to me, I shall die.

The slang of the Nats of the Etawah district is of the same kind as that used in the neighbouring Mainpuri. Thus we find *bōhrā*, son, as in Hindōstānī, but *bōhrā*, sons, as in Rājasthānī, and so forth. It will be enough to print the beginning of a version of the Parable as illustration of this mixed speech.

[No. 41.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ (BĒRIYĀ).

SPECIMEN IV.

DISTRICT ETAWAH.

Kohū	ṭehā-kē	khadōē	bōhrā	thē.	Uhi-mā-sē	lahurā-nē
Some	man-of	two	sons	were.	Them-in-from	younger-by
khāptā-sē	kahā,	'arē	khāptā,	pūji-māhi-sē	jō	hamārā
father-to	it-was-said,	'O	father,	property-in-from	which	my
nāṭṭilī	hōē	uh	ham-kā	bāṭbē.	Tab	uh-nē
share	may-be	that	me-to	divide.	Then	him-by
nāṭṭilī	kar	dī.	Bōhit	din	nāhī	kaṭē
shares	having-made	was-given.	Many	days	not	passed
bōhrā	sārī	pūji	ikṭhī	kar	anthā	chhāē
son	all	property	together	having-made	another-country	having-gone
rahyō.						
stayed.						

The Nat argot used in the Rampur State is known under the name of Pahāri Bhābar. The admixture of Rājasthānī forms in the specimens received from the State is comparatively small. Compare, however, the alternative genitive suffix *rā*, *rī*, *rē*; the locative suffix *nē*; forms such as *mārā*, *māhrā*, *my*; *nō*, i.e. *thō*, or *thā*, I was; forms such as *rahā*, *rahlā*, and *rehlā*, was; *dinī*, gave; *kini*, made, and the future suffixes *gā* and *rā*. Note also the aspirated letters in *gōghā*, went; *dudhlē*, eating; *dhōr*, two; *thēr*, three, etc. The character of this form of speech will be easily recognized from a perusal of the specimens which follow. The first is a version of the Parable, the second a statement relating to a dacoity. The Standard List of Words and Sentences will be found on pp. 180ff.

[No. 42.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ (PAHĀRĪ BHĀBAR).

SPECIMEN V.

STATE RAMPUR.

Bik kudmī-kē dhōr niklē rahlē. Khalōhrā-nē bāpsā-sē
 One man-of two sons were. Younger-by father-to
 kūkā ke, 'bāpsā, khaṭum-kā jaṭūp mōhē dīp-dēō. Bōr
 it-was-said that, 'father, property-of share me-to give. And
 bāpsā-nē dīp-diyā. Nihōrgā khadīn nichhē khalōhrā niklē-nē chhōd
 father-by was-given. Few days after younger son-by much
 bīkhtā kōriā bōr khadūr-kē nidhwā-kū gōghā bōr khaṭum
 together was-made and distance-of country-to went and substance
 hīnālī-nē raharēh hupī gōkī. Phīn ōh nidhwā-kē bīk
 riotousness-in spent becoming went. Then that country-of one
 khamīr-kē rōhlē gōghā. Ōh-nē rahtō-nē tūṇḍā nukānē rahlē.
 rich-man-of house went. Him-by fields-in pigs to-graze was-sent.
 Bōr ōhē khapiā rahli ke ōh kōbē-sē jō tūṇḍā dudhtē
 And his desire was that those husks-from which pigs eating
 haī āpan khanēt thēklē. Phīn ōh-nē kūkā ke, 'mōhrē bāpsā-kē
 are own belly may-fill. Then him-by it-was-said that, 'my father-of
 chhīntē haī; uhaī tāōhī haī; bōr mēh chhukā lūgtā hī.
 servants are; to-them breads are; and I hungry dying am.
 Mēh āpan bāpsā-kē dhigē chilpūngā bōr ōh-sē kukūngā ke,
 I own father-of near will-go and him-to will-say that,
 "bāpsā, mēh-nē ākās bōr tōhrē thāmnē rasōr keli;
 'father, me-by heaven and of-thee before sin was-made;
 ab mōhē āpnē chhīntē sāhī karhō." Ōh bāpsā-kē
 now me own servant like make." He father-of
 dhigē chilpā. Bōr ōh khadūr rahlē ke ōhē nūkh-kar
 near went. And he far was that him seen-having
 ōh-nē bāpsā-kū mōh āyā, bōr khatōng-kē ōhē rīchhā
 his father-to affection came, and having-run his neck
 lagē-liyā bōr chhōd rīchhā kīlī. Bōr bāpsā āpan
 was-clasped and much caressing was-made. And father own
 chhīntō-sē kūkā ke, 'kuchhē kuchhē riprē lēp-āō bōr
 servants-to it-was-said that, 'good good clothes bring and

ōhē nēhr-lāō, bōr ōh-kē khūt-nē ūthī bōr gōnā-nē gōhnī nēhr-lāō;
him put-on, and him-of hand-on ring and feet-on shoes put-on;
 bōr ham dutē bōr rusī rōhōpō, ke mährā nīklā
and we may-eat and merry may-be, that my son
 lugā rahā, phin khājiri gōghā hai; khajātā rahlā, phin khamlā
dead was, again alive gone is; lost was, again found
 hai.' Bōr ōh rusī rōhōpō lāgē.
is.' And they merry to-be began.

Bōr ōh-kā japā nīklā rahat-nē rahā. Jab rōhlē-kē dhigē
And him-of big son field-in was, When house-of near
 āyā ' bōr khēchā-kī chur nōhnī. Bīk chhīntē-nu
came and dancing-of sound was-heard. One servant-to
 kūkā ke, 'ē hūp hai?' Ōh-nē ōh-sē kūkā, ' tōhrā
it-was-said that, 'this what is?' Him-by him-to it-was-said, ' thy
 bhaotā āyā hai, bōr tōhrē bāpsā-nē japī dutnā kēli.' Ōh-nē
brother come is, and thy father-by big feast was-made.' Him-by
 rūse hupī gōghā khapiyānā ke rōhlē na chīlpē. Ōh-kē
angry becoming went it-was-wished that house not may-go. Him-of
 bāpsā-nē khabāhar chīlap-kar khamnāyā. Ōh-nē bāpsā-sē
father-by outside having-gone it-was-remonstrated. Him-by father-to
 kūkā, 'nākh, chhōd khadīn hupī gāe ke tōhri khamētī
it-was-said, 'see, many days having-become went that thy service
 kōli rahā; bōr tōhrē kākū-sē na chīlpā. Tōh-nē bīk
doing remained; and thy word-from not went. Thee-by one
 rōhībrī-kā bachchā bhī mōhē na dīnī ke khyārō-kē hāth
goat-of young-one even to-me not was-given that friends-of with
 rusī rahpō. Bōr jō tōhrā ēh nīklā āyā jō tōhrā
merry might-be. And when thy this son came by-whom thy
 khatum patniyō-nē rahach hupī gōki. tōh-nē ōh-kē liē
property harlots-to spent becoming went, thee-by him-of for-the-sake
 chhōd dīnī kīnī.' Ōh-nē kūkā ke, ' nīklē, tā sadā
big feast - was-made.' Him-by it-was-said that, ' son, thou always
 mōhrē dhigē hai, bōr jō mēhrā hai, sō tōhrā hai.
of-me near art, and what mine is, that thine is.
 Phin rusī rōhōpnā bōr rusī hōnā rahlā, ke tōhrā
But merry to-make and merry to-be was, that thy
 bhaotā lōgā rahlā, phin khajimān hai; bōr khajātā rahlā,
brother dead was, again alive is; and lost was,
 khamlā hai.
found is.'

[No. 43.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ (PAHĀRĪ BHĀBAR).

SPECIMEN VI.

STATE RAMPUR.

Thēr mahinā-sē chhōd khaḍin bhaē ki kōḍhī nāl-kū māhrē
Three months-from many days were that half night-at my
 'rōhlē būlat bhai. Mēh rōhlē-sē khabāhar nīppar-nē nūj
in-house dacoity was. I house-from outside shed-in sleeping
 rahā thā. Mēhri chhahan rōhlē-nē nūj rahī thī. Bik
staying was. My sister house-in sleeping staying was. One
 kudmī māhrē rahat-kī dhigē chhagatā huā mukhā. Khōṭhōga,
man my bed-of near going become was-seen. I-rose,
 ō-sē nūchhā, tō kūkā ke, 'bāki hū.' Mēh
him-from it-was-asked, then it-was-said that, 'chankīdār am.' By-me
 kūkā ke, 'ōh bōr kudmī hai.' Phīn ōh chhāp-gayā.
it-was-said that, 'he another man is.' Then he going-went.
 Khadōrgā rihaprē nēhrē huē rēhlā. Phīn nuchhā khatīa bōl
White clothes put-on become was. Then twenty-five thirty burglary
 āō bōr kūkā ke, 'ham bulṭu hai.' Khandēri nāl rōhlī.
came and it-was-said that, 'we burglars are.' Dark night was.
 Namañichā bōr tikhnī leuthiā nandūkē sah khatiyār ōh-kē dhigē rahlē.
Pistol and sword sticks guns all weapons them-of near were,
 Kōṭ chul nandūkō-kō bhaē. Mēh gōghāt parā. Bik nōhri
Eight fires guns-of became. I going fled. One knife
 thīs-nē lugārī bōr leuthiā lugārī. Mēh nīst hupī gayā ke
head-on struck and sticks struck. I quiet becoming went that
 lōth dārēgō. Phīn bik kudmī tikhnī liyē mēhrē dhigē roharā
killing may-throw. Then one man sword taken of-me near standing
 rahā, bōr narwājē-kā ruṇṇ nōrṇē lagē. Nīdhwē-kē dāmbhē chhōd
was, and door-of bolt to-break began. Village-of people many
 bikhattē hupā gaē. Tō mēhrē dhigē-sē bōl chhlpē gaē.
together becoming went. Then of-me near-from burglars going went.
 Phīn mēh khūṭī-kē chhlpā gayā, bōr nīdhwē-nē billātā phirā
Then I having-run moved went, and village-in shouting went-about
 ke, 'mēhrē rōhlē-nē bōl ālrē, rīgh chhlpō.' Nēhlīānā
that, 'my house-in dacoits have-entered, quickly come.' All-sides-from

bōl nandūkē lōhtē thē. Khadrā-kē mārē uthē kōi na
dacoits guns firing were. Fear-of on-account there anybody not
 jāsurta thā. Dhōr ranṭhā tāi bulattē rahē. Phin chilpē gaē.
going was. Two hours for robbing were. Then moved went.
 Bus-kē nīcchē mēh rōhlē gōghā, nukhā ke khatālā nuṭā
That-of after I into-house went, it-was-sen that lock broken
 huā hai, khamāṭī rōdhilā-rī, dāmaiṭā-kī khatum khutārī
become is, earth dug-was, women-of property having-taken-out
 li, hōr gahnā sab lipī gaē. Bīkis
was-taken, and ornaments all having-taken had-gone. Twenty-one
 hajārē-kā khatum bulṭī-kē lipī gaē. Kāgad
thousand-of property having-robbed having-taken had-done. Paper
 dīppi diyā hai. Rīchhrā hōr nēthrē jalāē-kē
having-given given is. Quilts and stalks-of-juar-tree having-lighted
 bōlō-nē khujitā kī thī. Mēhrā jadhi-sē kālī kharañj nahī
dacoits-by light made was. Of-me defendant-with any ill-feeling not
 hai, na un-kē bhaotē-sē. Mēh-nē kīsi bōl-kū nahī nehcānā.
is, not him-of brother-with. Me-by any dacoit not was-recognized.
 Mēh in bōlō-kū ke kachēriyā-nē rahē hai nahī nahcāntā.
I these dacoits who court-in standing are not know.
 Bōr jō khatum khīklē hōkē āyā hai, mēhrgā nahī
And which property recovered having-become come is, mine not
 hai. Bēk rahī tak mēhrē thāmnē mēhrā rōhlā bulattē rahē.
is. One hour for of-me before my house robbing remained.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

More than three months ago there was a dacoity in my house at midnight. I was sleeping in a shed outside the house, but my sister was sleeping in the house. I saw a man coming up to my bed, and on my asking him, he said that he was the watchman. I then said, 'that is another man.' Then he went off. He was wearing white clothes. Then some twenty-five or thirty dacoits came and said they were dacoits. The night was dark. They had all sorts of weapons, pistols, swords, sticks and guns, and eight guns were fired. I then fled, but was hit on the head with a knife and with sticks. I then kept quiet lest they should kill me. One man was standing near me with a sword, and started to break the bolt of the door open. Now many of the village people came together, and the dacoits left me. I ran into the village and went about shouting, 'dacoits have entered my house, come quickly.' From all sides the dacoits were firing guns, and nobody ventured to approach. They kept robbing for two hours, and then went off. After that I entered the house and saw that the lock had been broken, the soil dug up, the property of the women taken and all ornaments taken away. They had robbed

twenty-one thousand rupees' worth of property. I have given a list of it. The dacoits had burned quilts and straw and thus made a light. I have no ill-feeling against the defendant or against his brother. I did not recognize any one of the dacoits. I do not recognize those dacoits who are standing in court. The property which has been recovered is not mine. They were robbing my house in my presence for one hour.

The Natī in the Bijnor District base their argot on a dialect of the same kind as that spoken in Rampur. The Rājasthānī admixture is not very prominent. We may note forms such as *khaddō* and *khaddē*, O big one, Sir; *khaddiā-kē*, of the wolf (but *khaddiā-nē*, by the wolf); *āsrā*, they came, and so on. Note also future forms such as *jāgrā*, I will go; *kōgnā*, I will say; compare Sāsī. Another future formation is represented by *hōlā*, it will be. For further particulars the two specimens which follow should be consulted. The first is the beginning of a version of the Parable; the second a translation of the well-known tale about the wolf and the lamb.

[No. 44.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATL.

SPECIMEN VII.

DISTRICT BIKANER.

Kisi kōdmī-kē dō nōbdē thē Chhōtē nōbdē-nē bāhā-sū
Some man-of two sons were. Small son-by father-to
 kahī ki, 'hamārā bātā bāti dē.' Us-nē apnē
it-was-said that, 'our share having-decided give.' Him-by own
 jūndē-jī bātā diyā. Ghanē dinā nahī huē, chhōtā nōbdā
living-of share was-given. Many days not were, small son
 sab khūbnā lō dūsrē dēsā naī gayā, aur wahā-sē
all goods having-taken another country going went, and there
 sahīā khūbrā khurmasti lagādne-mē barābad kar diyā. Aur
all goods riotousness applying-in wasted making was-given. And
 sab pāngā kar chukā, sō ūthē mulkā-mē ghanā akrā
all spent making ceased, then there country-in mighty famine
 hō gayā. Jab lāchār khōkhā hōnē lagā, tab us
having-became went. When helpless poor to-be began, then that
 dēsā-kē kisi kōdmī-sē jā bhēṭā. Tab us-nē usō tūṇḍā
country-of some man-with going was-joined. Then him-by him mine
 chugānē bhēṭī diyā. Tab hōshā-mē akē kōghā,
to-graze having-sent it-was-given. Then senses-in having-come it-was-said,
 'mērē bāpā-kē utnē mīhantī-kō bahutā ōṭī haī, māī bhākō
'my father-of so-many servants-to much breads are, I with-hunger
 mar chalpā. Māī ūthī-kē bāpā-kē pās jāgrā aur us-sē
dying went. I having-risen father-of near will-go and him-to
 kōguṅgā ki, "bāpā, hamī-nē āsmānē-kā tērē hazūr taksirā
will-say that, "father, we-by heaven-of of-thee presence fault
 karā hai." '
done is."

[No. 45.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATL

SPECIMEN VIII.

DISTRICT BILSON.

Ek khunaddi badi napā thi. Uh-kē dhāngā-pā ek-hi khabaktā
One river very clear was. That-of bank-to one-only at-time
 khabhēdiā ō khabhēdā-kā khachchā dōnō khapāni pinē āsā.
wolf and sheep-of young-one both water to-drink came.
 Garmiā khabautā tui rōgi. Khadōnō-kō khapyās lagī
Heat much having-fallen was. Both-to thirst having-become-attached
 rōgi thi. Khabhēdiā uthē khadā khapāni tōgi rahā thā,
being was. Wolf there standing water drinking remaining was,
 uthā-sē thōdī dūrā-par khabāo-kī tarfā khabhēdā-kā khachchā
there-from little distance-at current-of in-direction sheep-of young-one
 khapāni tōgi lagā. Khabhēdiā-kē khumā khulubā lagā huā
water drinking began. Wolf-of in-mouth blood smeared become
 thā, uh-kē khēdārtē-lī khumā-mē khachchī taluk āyā ; us-kē
was, him-of on-seeing-even mouth-in water filled came ; him-of
 dōtnē-kē liyē khajhagrā khūbā kiya. ' Ō bē-ādā,
eating-of for-the-sake quarrel much was-made. O respectless-one,
 tujhē chī kulnā chāhiyē ki pāō-sē hīlāi hīlāi khapāni-kō gādīa
for-thee this to-do is-wanted that feet-by moving moving water dirty
 kultā hai, jī-kī wajah-sē ham pāni na tōg-sāi. khapyās-kō
making art, which-of cause-from I water not drinking-am, thirst-of
 khamārō marī chālpāi. Khubchārō khubachchē-nē jawābā
on-the-account dying may-go. Poor young-one-by answer
 diyā, ' khabdē, kyā hukmā khadērtō hō ? Khapāni-kā khabāo
was-given, Sir, what order giving are ? Water-of current
 āpā-kī tarfā-sē mēri tarfā hai. Mēri labā-sē
self-of direction-from my in-direction is. My direction-from
 tēri labā-kō nahī jāē saktā. Tab khabhēdiē-nē kaugā,
thy direction-to not go can. Then wolf-by it-was-said,
 ' nuhī-sahī, tū baḍō khumgrā hai ; khachchē mōs huē tan-nē
' never-mind, thou great scoundrel art ; six months become thee-by
 mujh-kō baḍī gārī dīpi thī. Khubachchē-nē kaugā, ' khabdā,
me-to great abuses given were. Young-one-by it-was-said, Sir,

kyā nachī khacholtē hō ? Maī tō abhī khachh mahinē-kā
what trouble speaking are ? I even now six months-of
 hōpā nahī. Gārīā kis-nē dēpī hōgī ?' Khabhēdiē-nē kaugā,
become not. Abuses whom-by given may-be ?' Wolf-by it-was-said,
 'ithā tum-nē mah-kō gārīā na dēpī hōgī, tau tumhārē bāpā-nē
'here thee-by me-to abuses not given may-be, then thy father-by
 dēpī hōgī. Ah nisāpā yah hōelā ki apnē bāpā-kē kartabō-kā
given may-be. Now justice this will-be that own father-of deeds-of
 dādā bhugti hō.' Yah kaugī-kē khubachchē-kō chakar
punishment reaping may-take.' This having-said young-one-of seizing
 liyā aur tūk-tūk kar-kē tūmī liyā.
was-taken and piece-piece having-made eating was-taken.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

A wolf and a lamb came at the same time to the bank of a clear river to drink water. It was very hot and both were thirsty. The lamb was drinking water a little distance downstream from where the wolf was standing and drinking water. The wolf was very bloodthirsty, and its mouth watered on seeing the sheep. He tried to raise a quarrel in order to get an opportunity of eating him. He said, 'O impudent fellow, is it proper for you to make the water dirty by stirring it with your feet, so that I cannot drink it and may die from thirst?' The poor lamb replied: 'Sir, what do you command? The water flows from you to me and cannot flow from me to you.' Then the wolf said: 'never mind, you are a scoundrel; six months ago you abused me.' Said the lamb, 'how can this be true? I am not six months old. Who can have abused you?' The wolf said: 'if you did not abuse me, it must have been your father, and it is only just that you should be punished for the deeds of your father.' After having said this he seized the lamb, tore it to pieces and ate it.

The Nats of the Bahraich District call themselves Brijbāsī and state that they have come from Braj. Their dialect seems to contain a larger admixture of Rājasthānī than we have hitherto found. It is, however, possible that the speech of the different Brijbāsī differs according to their last habitat, and it would be unsafe to base far-reaching conclusions on one single specimen. The first lines of a version of the Parable will be sufficient to show its general character. It will be noticed that the Rājasthānī element is so strong that it can almost be characterised as the base of the dialect. The specimen does not, on the other hand, illustrate the artificial argot of the Nats with which we are here concerned.

[No. 46.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ (BRIJBĀSĪ).

SPECIMEN IX.

DISTRICT BAHBAICH.

Ek	ādmī-rē	dui	chhōrā	chhē.	U-mhā-lē	nānhikē	chhōrā
One	man-of	two	sons	were.	Them-in-from	by-small	son
bāū-nē	kahiō,	‘ahō	bāō,	dhan	jaun	hamārō	hīsā chhē
father-to	it-was-said,	‘O	father,	property	which	my	share is
ham-nō	dai-dēō. ¹	Tabai	ū	dhan	ā-thaī	bāt	dinhō.
me-to	give. ¹	Then	he	property	him-to	having-divided	was-given.
Ujī	thōr	doṁs	bītē	nānhikē	chhōrā	jāmā-jathrī	lē-kō
And	few	days	after	small	son	property	having-taken
	pardēsan	chalō	gayō,	ujī	uttē	āprō	māl-jāl
to-a-foreign-country	moved	went,	and	there	own	property	debauchery-in
	urā-dinō.						
	was-wasted.						

The argot of the Nat̄s of the Bhagalpur District is based on a mixture of Eastern Hindi and Hindostānī with some Bengali forms. It will be sufficient to give the beginning of a version of the Parable in illustration of this jargon.¹

¹ It is worth noting that the ordinary language of Bhagalpur is Bihārī, a form of speech quite different from Hindi.—
G. A. G.

[No. 47.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATL.

SPECIMEN X.

DISTRICT BHAGALPUR.

Jhēkē kudmī-kē dhūr rawāil rahē. Rōtkā rawāil apnē
 One man-of two sons were. Small son own
 dugwā-sē kutāis jē, 'sab tihā masil mērā jhakhṛā
 father-to said that, 'all wealth money my share
 batkhilālapā.' Dugwā sab tihā masil dhūrō rawāil-kē jhāt
 divide.' Father all wealth money two sons-of shares
 dihis. Thōrācha jhād rōtkā rawāil apnā sab masil gaṅg
 gave. Short after small son own all money pice
 lē-kē jhari dūr rali gapāil. Wāhā sab masil gaṅg rahūli-mē
 having-taken very far going went. There all money pice harlots-in
 dharāb-kar dihis. Jab us-kā rabthō marchā hō geā, tab
 spent-making gave. When him-of all spent becoming went, then
 us dēs-mē jhari jhakal parpāil, ō ū bayitē-mē dharib hō
 that country-in great famine fell, and he food-in poor becoming
 gail. Tab wah jhōkō kājā rangh rahēkō gail. Kājā
 went. Then he one gentleman with to-remain went. Gentleman
 us-kō apnē nēthā-mē rūkar charānē-kō bhējis. Naslāē rūkar-kē bētni
 him own field-in swine feeding-for sent. Husks pigs-of food
 bhī milpāit, tō ū apan chuṭkāl chidhā bhai-kē
 even would-have-got, then he own belly glad having-become
 laurit. Jab wah apnē kihā dharpā, apnē man-mē chhōkē
 would-have-filled. When he own sense held, own mind-in to-say
 lagā jē, 'hamarē dugwā-kē kitnē khēotabā-kē etnā dōmkā hai
 began that, 'my father-of how-many servants-of so-much bread is
 ke wah apnē bayitē hai ō dūsar-kē bayitātē hai, ō ham
 that they self eating are and others-of feeding are, and I
 bhūkan dhimī jāilā. Ham apnē dugwā rangh jāisi ō kutāisi
 by-hunger eating go. I own father near will-go and will-say
 jē, "ō dugwā, ham tērā khahut bējāē kiyā, ō ham tērā
 that, "O father, by-me of-thee many faults were-done, and I thy
 rahūlā chhōkē jōkar naipī hapāil; apnē nāhar-mē khēotā rakhpā." "
 son to-be-called fit not became; own presence-in servant keep."

DŌM.

The Dōms are a menial caste belonging to what Sir Herbert Risley calls the Dravidian type. It is not uniform but comprises several variations and sub-castes. Some Dōms supply fire at cremation or act as executioners; others are scavengers, and some have taken to basket and cane working. The Dōms in the Himalayan districts have gained a fairly respectable position as husbandmen and artisans, while the wandering Magahiya Dōms of Bihar are professional thieves.

The Dōms are numerous in Assam, Bengal, the United Provinces and Kashmir.

The following are the figures returned at the Census of 1911:—

Number.	
Assam	30,412
Bengal	173,991
Bihar and Orissa	241,903
Central Provinces and Berar	9,344
Panjab	79,910
United Provinces	333,781
Kashmir State	52,009
Elsewhere	4,374
Total	925,820

To these may be added the following, shown in the Census under the names of Bansphōr and Basōr:—

Central Provinces and Berar	52,947
United Provinces	23,905
Baroda State	9
Central India Agency	52,465
Total	129,516

Giving a grand total for Dōms under all names of 1,054,336.

The common name of the caste is Dōm or Dōmṛā, a word of uncertain origin. According to the *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa* a *Dama* is the son of a *lōṭa* and a *chāṇḍālī*, and *Dama* is perhaps the same word as *Dōma*. The *dōmas* or *dōmbas* are mentioned in Sanskrit literature as living by singing and music. The form *dōmba* seems to be the oldest one. It occurs in Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* (lxvii. 33), which belongs to the sixth century, and several times in Sanskrit works hailing from Kashmir such as the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Sōmadēva and the *Rājataranginī* of Kalhapa. There cannot be any doubt that these *dōmbas* are identical with the Dōms, and the name of the caste is accordingly old. The base from which it is derived is perhaps onomatopœic; compare Sanskrit *ḍam*, to sound; *ḍamaru*, drum. It is probably not Aryan.

The late Professor Hermann Brockhaus of Leipzig was the first to suggest that the word *dōm* might be identical with the name *rōm*, which the European Gipsies use

to denote themselves.¹ This suggestion has been adopted by Charles G. Leland² and Sir George Grierson,³ and it may now be considered as established, after we have learnt to know that the Nawar or Zutt, a Gipsy tribe of Palestine, call themselves *Dōm* and their language *Dōmāri*.⁴

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So far as can be judged from the materials available the Dōms do not possess a dialect of their own, but use the speech of their neighbours. The words and phrases given by Abdul Ghafur belong to an argot of the same kind as that used by the Sāsīs. A similar remark applies to the Dōm dialect mentioned by Dr. Leitner. Neither his materials nor the sentences published by Abdul Ghafur are, however, sufficient for judging with certainty. According to information collected for the purposes of this Survey a dialect called Dōmrā was spoken in the following districts of Bihar and Orissa :—

Saran	9,500
Champanan	4,000
TOTAL	13,500

These figures refer to the argot of the Magahiṃā Dōms, who derive their name Magahiṃā from Magah, Magadha, where they assert that their original home was, or from *māg*, road. They are notorious thieves and bad characters and do not cultivate or labour if they can help it. Their women only make occasional basket work as a pretence, their part being that of the spy, informer and disposer of stolen property.

The estimates of the number of speakers of Dōmrā in Saran are certainly exaggerated. At the Census of 1911 the Dōms of Saran numbered only 8,606, and only a portion of these used the Dōmrā argot. The Dōms of Champanan numbered 7,662, and the estimates for that district are perhaps correct.

As shown by the specimens which follow Dōmrā is an argot based on the current Bhōjpuri of the districts, with a tissue of Rajasthānī and Hindōstānī. To the latter belong forms such as the case suffixes, dative *kō*, genitive *kā*, *kī*, *kē* ;

¹ See A. F. Pott, *Die Zigeuner in Europa und Asien*, Vol. i. Halle, 1844, p. 42; Chr. Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. i. Second edition, p. 400, note 1; Franz Miklosich, *Ueber die Mundarten und die Wanderungen der Zigeuner Europas*, viii, p. 67—*Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Classe*, Vol. xxvii. Vienna, 1810.

² *Academy*, Vol. vii. 1876, p. 637.

³ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. xv. 1886, p. 15.

⁴ See E. A. Stewart Macalister, *The Language of the Nawar or Zutt, the Nomad Smiths of Palestine*. Gipsy Lore Society. Monographs, No. 2. Edinburgh, 1914.

stray verbal forms such as *kihuas-uō*, to say; *tikunē-sē*, from eating; *kahā*, said; *lagā*, began, etc. Of Rājasthānī reminiscences we may note the termination *ā* in the oblique singular and in the plural of strong masculine bases; thus, *kājuā-kē dū chēfā*, two sons of a man. Most verbal forms and, generally speaking, the whole grammatical system, however, are Bhōjpuri. Compare forms such as *khurē*, am; *karulī*, I did; *kahlak*, said; *kahab*, shall say; *bīruarh*, we shall become; *figuarikhē*, they will see, and the common base *bar*, *bār*, to be.

As in the case of other similar argots there is a certain number of peculiar words. Such are: *baurā*, boy; *lēpar*, cloth; *kājuā*, cultivator; *raguar*, dead; *tigun*, eating; *lawā*, went; *khūrkhā*, horse; *qaulā*, house; *bhōth*, *chūchkā*, a Dōm; *bhubhur*, pig; *ghōmēyā*, *ōhan*, rupee; *gēm*, thief, and so forth. Commonly, however, ordinary Aryan words are used but disguised by means of various changes and additions. Occasionally we find transposition of letters, as in *ghanarphul*=*kararphul*, eardrop. More commonly we see that a consonant is prefixed or substituted for the beginning of a word. The gutturals *k* and *kh* are used in this way; thus, *kōg*=*ōg*, fire; *kōheth*=*hāth*, hand; *kōhathī*=*hāthī*, elephant; *khēk*=*ēk*, one; *khakāl*=*kāl*, famine; *khingūr*=*sindūr*, red lead; *khikuar-kē*=*nīkāl-kē*, having taken out; *khurē*, *khōrē*=*rahē*, am. It will be seen that the original word is sometimes also abbreviated and changed in other ways at the same time.

The palatals *ch* and *chh* are most frequently substituted for labials; thus, *chap-khaiā*=*pāp*, sin; *chagri*, *pagri*; *chēfā*=*bēfā*, son; *chaikunth*=*baikunth*, heaven; *chāchhri*=*machhri*, fish; *chibantu*=*ban*, forest; *chhiruarkē*=*phir*, again, etc. Sometimes, however, *ch* is also used before or instead of other sounds; compare *chabāi*=*kabhi*, ever; *chayā*=*dayā*, compassion; *chōkarkhaiā*=*naukar*, servant; *chirōfi*=*rōfi*, bread. *gh* is used as a substitute in words such as *ghanarphul*=*kararphul*, eardrop; *ghasaili*=*kasaili*, betel nut; *ghashin*=*kasbin*, harlot; *ghēm*=*gēm*, thief; *ghasi*=*khasi*, goat.

n is used in several words such as *nēf*, coat; *nētkhaiā*=*khēt*, field; *nūfthā*=*gōfthā*, cowdung; *nutā*=*jutā*, shoe; *nari*=*dari*, carpet; *nēvānī*=*pānī*, water; *nahar*=*shahr*, town, etc.

Finally we find *r* in words such as *rōpi*=*lōpi*, hat; *rēli*=*tēli*, cilmaw, and so forth.

In addition to such devices the Magahiya Dōms show a marked predilection for changing their words by means of additions after them. The numerals two and following thus add an *ēm*, and we get *dulēm*, two; *tidrēm*, three; *charēm*, four; *pañchēm*, five; *chhalēm*, six; *satēm*, seven; *chaṣēm*, eight; *navēm*, nine; *dasēm*, ten; *bīsēm*, twenty. *Gō* is also commonly added to numerals; thus, *kkēgō*, one; *dulēm-gō*, two; *salēm-gō*, hundred.

A common addition is also *tu*; thus, *gōrtu*, foot; *jadatu*, cold, winter; *niraktu*=*chirāgh*, lamp; *jawabtu*, an answer; *dhantu*, property; *chichartu*=*bichār*, deliberation; *baptu*=*bāp*, father; *nulēhatu*=*salāh*, counsel. Compare Sāsi tā.

Other common additions are *khaiā*, *khaiē*, *khailā* in the Saran specimen, and *kilā*, *kilē* in the Champaran texts. Thus, *nētkhaiā*=*khēt*, field; *chumūkhaiā*=*chumū*, kissed; *chapkhaiā*=*pāp*, sin; *bhaikhaiā*, brother; *sāngkhaiā*, with; *samankhaiē*=*sāmuē*,

before; *chaskhāē*=*pās*, towards; *bapkhailā*=*bāp*, father; *chētkhailā*, sense; *nētkhailā*=*khēt*, field; *garahilā*=*galā*, neck; *jutahilā* and *nōtahilā*=*jutā*, shoe; *sangahilā*, with; *sunahilā*, heard; *samanahilā*, before. Note the frequent abbreviation of the vowel of the original word in such cases.

Many different additions are made to verbal bases, and the conjugation of verbs therefore has a very puzzling appearance. If we abstract from stray forms such as *khasuaitā*=*ātā*, comes; *charsaitā*=*barsātā*, it rains; *dēghluarsē*=*diyā*, gave; *ligun-gharuarē*, ate, and others, the most characteristic addition is *u*. This *u* can be added alone; thus, *kih-u-ātē*, I will say; *kar-u-lī*, I did; *keh-u-lē* and *kah-u-alak*, said; *kir-u-uē*, to make; *kih-u-uē*, *kih-u-as*, *kih-u-ēsā*, said.

In other cases it is preceded by an *s*; thus, *dī-su*, gave; *lī-su*, took; *dī-su-ātā*, gives; *kha-su-ātē*, coming; *kha-su-aitā*, comes (with *kh* added in front); *kī-suw-alē*, have done; *a-su-ān*, *a-su-ānē*, *a-su-āel*, and *kha-su-ān*, came; *chal-so-āel*, went; *dī-suc-ē*, had given; *dī-suc-ēs*, gavest; *dī-suw-as*, gave; *dī-su-alan*, gave; *dī-su-alin*, gavest.

A very common addition is *uar*; thus, *char-uar-ē*, to graze; *kah-uar-ē*, to say; *dēkh-uar-kē*, having seen, *chal-uar* (*disū*), dividing (gave); *rah-uar-ā*, remained; *hō-wr-ē*, it may be; *mar-uar-thī*, I am dying; *kīr-uar-tē*, I did; *dī-suar-tahā*, gave; *chah-uar-tarhā*, he was wishing; *rah-uar-twā*, *rah-uar-toāel*, stayed; *rah-uar-al*, was; *bach-uar-al*, was saved; *tag-uar-alē*, began; *tar-uar-lī*, I transgressed; *rah-uar-alhā*, was; *chuchh-uar-alak*, asked; *mar-uar-alas*, has beaten, and so forth; compare Kanjarī *wār*, *bār*, etc.

The *l*-suffix of many of these forms is the suffix of the past participle. It also occurs in the present in forms such as *bar-u-ala*, is; *hō-war-al*, am, art, is; *khō-war-lī*, we are; *sut-uar-al*, sleeps, and so on. Compare Bhōjpuri.

The preceding remarks only explain the most common Dōm devices for disguising common words. There are probably numerous similar ones. Of those occurring in the specimens we may mention the addition of *krā* in pronouns; thus, *khōkrē*, by thee; *khō-krē-mē-sē*, from among them, etc. It should be noted that *khu* may stand for *tū*, thou, and also for *ū*, he. In the case of verbs attention may be drawn to the frequent use of compound tenses formed with the base *ṣau*, to go; thus, *hō-ṣwā*, became; *rah-uar-ṣwā*, stayed; *par-ṣawān*, fell; *gungar-toāel*, fled; the occasional addition of *rat* in *sunā-rat*, he heard, and so forth. Further particulars will be understood from the specimens which follow. The first is a version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son in the argot of the Magahiya Dōms of Chapra in the Saran District. The two other ones have come from Champaran and have been forwarded as illustrating the slang of the Dōmrās. The first of them is a version of the Parable, the second a short Dōm story.

[No. 48.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

MAGAHİYĀ DŌM.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT SARAN.

Khēk kājwā-kē du chētā baruaral. Khōkrē-mē-sē chōchikā-nē
One man-of two sons were. Them-among-from younger-by
 bapkhailā-sē kihūēsā, ' hē bapkhailā, darbkhailā jē hamrē chakrā
father-to said, ' O father, goods which my share
 hōwrē, sē hamē disu. Tab u khōkrē khāpan darbkhailā
will-be, that to-me give. Then he to-him own goods
 chaṭuar disu. Bahut din nā chitaur ko chōchikā chētā sab
dividing gave. Many days not passed that younger son all
 chijkhailā khēkthā kar-kē chari chahrē chālātwā, khaur khuhā
things together having-made far country went, and there
 chadmāsī din chitartwā, khāpan darbkhailā khurā disuwās. Jab
in-riotousness days spent, own goods wasted gave. When
 wah sab kuchh khurā disuwē, tab us chahrē-mē charā khakāl
he all whatever wasted had-given, then that country-in big famine
 partawān, khaur wah dhangāl hōtwā, khaur khuhā tawākē
fell, and he destitute became, and there having-gone
 us chahrē khādmī-mē khēk admī rahuarawā, jēkrē khōkrē
that country men-in one man to-live-went, who him
 khapnē nētkhailā bhubbhur charuarē bhējnar-disuwē. Khaur khōkrē
own fields swine to-graze sent. And those
 nēdhiō-sē jinhō bhubbhur tigan-gharuarē khapnā chēt lharuarē
hunks-with which swine eating-were own belly to-fill
 chahuartarhā, khaur kamō nā us-kō kuchh disuurtahā. Tab
wishing-was, and anybody not him-to anything giving-was. Then
 khōkrē chētkhailā hōtwā, khaur khunē kahmartē, ' khamrē bapkhailā-kē
to-him sense became, and he said, ' my father-of
 chahut majurā tiganār-sē chahut pōpi hōkhuartē khaur ham
many servants eating-from much bread remained and I
 bhukhēhē maruarthī. Māi khut-kē khapnē bapkhailā pās chālātwā
with-hunger dying-am. I having-arisen own father near go
 khaur khōkrē kihuatē, " hē bapkhailā, kham-nē chaikunth khultā khaur
and to-him will-say, " O father, me-by Heaven against and
 khōkrē samun-khaihē chapkhailā kiruurtē; māi ohiruarke tōhār chētā
thee before sin did; I again thy son

kihus lāek nai-khurē. Khamrē-kē khapnē majurā-mē-sē khēk
to-say worthy not-am. Me own servants-in-from one
 charāhar kiru." Tab wah khupkē khapnē bapkhailā chalaṭwā,
like make." Then he having-arisen own father went.
 Chahil paurā nā, khōkrē bapkhailā dēkhuar-kē chaya kiruwāsē, khaur
Far came not, his father seen-having mercy made, and
 naruar-kē us-kē garkhailā thiru-lisuwēs obumkhailā. Chōṭā-nē khōkrē-sē
run-having him-of neck kept-took kissed. Son-by him-to
 kahā, 'hē bapkhailā, khamrē-kē chaikunṭh khulṭā khaur khapnē
It-was-said, 'O father, I (sic) heaven against and yourself
 samankhailā chap-khailā kiruwatē, khaur chihiruar-kē tōhūr chōṭā kahuarē
before sin did, and again thy son to-say
 lāek nai-khōrē.' Chāki bapkhailā-nē khapnē chōkar-sē kihuwēs, 'sab-sē
worthy not-am.' But father-by own servants-to said, 'all-than
 khachhā tēpar khikuar-kē chahrā-dimwēs, khōkrē kōhath aṅguthī khaur
good robe having-brought put-on-him, his hand ring and
 pair-mē nūtā pahinō, aur ham tikunarkē khaur nusi biruarb,
feet-on shoes put-on, and ice eating and merry let-become,
 kihuat-biruaral hamār chōṭā ruarē-barāhar rahuārā, phir jiwartwā;
because my son dead-like was, again alive-went;
 chulāṭwā, phir chiluarṭwā.' Tab wē khānand kiruwar liguwārē.
lost-went, again met-went.' Then they merriment to-make began.

Khōkar charka chōṭā nētkhailā-mē biruaral. Khaur chālā-khasuātē
His big son fields-in was. And going-coming
 niarkhailē khasuān, tab jakhailā khaur nachard khawāj sunārat. Khaur
near came, then music and dancing sound heard. And
 khu khapnē chōkarkhailā-mē-sē khōk-kō chaakhasē chōlāwat chuchhuartē khi,
he own servants-in-from one-to near calling asked that,
 'kā hawārā?' Khu khōkrē-sē kihuas, 'khapnē bhaikhailā asuānē,
'what becoming-is?' He him-to said, 'yourself-of brother came,
 khaur tobār bapkhailā niman tigonār wrēsā khēkhōjkhailā-sē ki usē
and thy father good dinner has-given because that him
 khachhā chauarēsā.' Chāki khōkrē nisān biruaral khaur chitar nā jāwō.
well got.' But he angry became and inside not came.
 Khōkrē khōkar bapkhailā chahri asuā-kē chanānē lagā.
Therefore his father outside having-come to-remonsstrate began.
 Khōkrē bapkhailā-kē jawabtu dēghuārē kē, 'dēkhuarē, māi bahut
He father-to answer gave that, 'see, I many
 eharis-sē khōkrī sēvkhailā kiruartē, khaur chab-hī khō-kā hukumkhailā
years-from thy service did, and ever thy order

nā taruarli. Kaur khōkrē hamrē kahikhañ khāk nakri na
 not transgressed. And thou to-me ever one goat not
 disuwēs kē khapnē chit saṅkhañ khānand kirut biruaral. Chāki
 guest that one friend with merriment making might-be. But
 khāpan ē chētā jēswā khapnē sab-khañ dārbkhañ tigan-tawā jaisē
 own this son who your-own all-whatever goods eating-went when
 khasuān tyō-hī khap-nē khōkrē khachhā tikunār kiruāisai.
 came then-indeed yourself-by for-him good dinner have-made.
 Bapkhailā khōkrē-sē kihuwēs, 'hē chētā, tu sab dīn hamrē saṅkhañ,
 Father him-to said, 'O son, thou all days me with,
 kaur kichhu khamār hai, sē sab tōr hawwaral. Chāki khānand
 and anything mine is, that all thing is. But joy
 kiruwē kaur nōl hōtwā khachhā thā kākē-ki yah tōr bhāikhañ
 to-make and merry to-be good was because this thy brother
 raharlē barābar rahuarā, phir jiwartwā; chulātwā, phir miluwartwā.
 dead like was, again alive-went; lost-went, again met-went.'

[No. 49.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

DOMRĀ.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT CHAMPARAN.

Khāk ādmī-kē dukēm-gō chētā rahuarē. Chhōtkā chētā kahlak
One man-of two sons were. Younger son said
 khapnā baptu-sē, 'hē baptu, ōban chubi hamār chakhrā disu-disu.'
own father-to, 'O father, rupees pice our share give.'
 Tab chaṭuar disu. Chahu dīn nā bituaral ki khapnā chakhrā chubi
Then dividing gave. Many days not passed that own share pice
 lisa-kē dūr destu chaltoāel ō khapnā randatu-sē sab khurā disu.
taking distant country went and own misconduct-by all squandered gave.
 Tab u destu-mē khakaltu paruar-toāel, u naklif-mē hō-toāel.
Then that country-in famine fell, he difficulty-in becoming-fell.
 Khēhu destu-mē khēgō ādmī-kē hiā rahuar-toāel, bhumbhur charuarē
That country-in one man-of with living-became, swine for-tending
 lisutoāel-narāel. Kō jī bhumbhur tikunē khēhu randwā tikunē
was-deputed. Husks which swine ate that rascal to-eat
 chahuarē; kbōkrākē kēu nā disuē kiehlūē. Khōkrā khakil bhauaral,
wished; him-to anybody not gave anything. To-him sense came,
 u kahuaral, 'hamarā baptu kibā chijurā-kē tikunē-sē bahit nōṭi
he said, 'my father with servants-of eating-than much bread
 bachuaral, ham bhukhalē rugtā-nī. Khapnā baptu-kē niar toāeh
is-saved, I with-hunger dying-am. Own father-of near will-go
 khuunkā-sē kahab ki, "ham Bhagwantu-kē samanahilē ō baptu-kē
him-to will-say that, "I God-of before and father-of
 samanahilē paptu karūli; ham tōhār chētā kahāwē lāek na barūli;
before sin did; I thy son to-be-called fit not became;
 hamrā-kē chijurā māfil januari." ' Khuṭuar-kē apnā baptu-kē niar
me servant like consider." ' Arisen-having own father-of near
 toāilin. Chētā-kē thiguar-kē baptu-kē chāyā laguaral, daruar-kē
went. Son seen-having father-to compassion was-applied, run-having
 garahilā thiru-kē chumahilā lisualak. Chētā-nō kahulak, 'hē baptu,
neck embraced-having kisses took. Son-by said, 'O father,
 Bhagwantu-kē samanahilē ō tōhrā samanahilē paptu kirūli; chētā kihūē
God-of before and of-thee before sin did; son to-say

lāek nā birualī.' Baptu apnā nōkarhilā-sē kihualak kī, 'chadhūā tēpar
fit not am. *Father own servants-to said that, 'good clothes*
 nikalwā-kē chētā-kē chenhāō, ō kōbāth-mē khōngutūhī an gōrtu-mē nōtahilā
taking-out son-to put-on, and hand-on ring and feel-on shoes
 chenhāō; ō ham tīkunī khushahilā karuārī; hamār chētā lugail
put-on; and we shall-eat merry shall-make; my son dead
 rahuaralhā, jītuār-ṭōāel; nūlā ṭōāel rahualhā, ab miluār-ṭōāel.' U-lōg
was, living-became; lost gone was, now found-became. They
 khushahilā hō-ṭōāel.
merry became.

Khō-kar nētkā chētā khētū-mē rahuaral. Khētū-mē-sē apnā ḍaulē
His big son field-in was. Field-in-from own house
 chalṣōāel, nachtu howarail chājā chējuarail sunahilā. Apr nōkarhilā-sē
went, dancing going-on music beating heard. And servant-from
 chōlā-kē chēchmaralak, 'kā hōwaralē?' Khun-kā-sē kehulē kī,
called-having asked, 'what is-going-on?' Him-to said that,
 'khapnē-kē bhahilā suāel baruaralē; khapnē-kē baptu chadhūā tīkunē-kē
'self-of brother arrived has-become; self-of father big eating-for
 karuaralē, khun-kā-kē chinuman paruaralē-bārē.' Tab u nīsiā
made-has, because safe-and-sound found-has. Then he angry

hō-ṭōāel ō ḍaul-mē rā ṭōāel. Baptu ḍaul-sē khikalsuāel
becoming-went and house-in not went. Father house-from going-out-came
 khō-kā-kē chināwē laguaralē. Tab u baptu-kē jābātu disualan, 'ham
him-to to-entreat began. Then he father-to answer gave, 'I

khapnē-kē katā dintu-sē sēwahilā kīraālī. Kabhī khapnē-kē chachan
self-of how-many days-from service did. Eer self-of word
 nā khūtarālī. Mudā khamrā-kē khēgō chēthrū nā ḍisu kē khapnā
not transgressed. Eer me-to one kid not gave that own

dōstu-kē saṅgahilā musī kartī. Bākī ḍhashbīn-kē saṅgahilā
friends-of in-company merry might-make. But harlots-of in-company

rāur ī chētā sab dhantu khurā ḍisu, to-ī tab-hī suāel, tab-hī
your-Honour's this son all wealth spent gave, he then came, then

nīmat chadhūā mōṭikā chana-kē tihunē-kē disualin.' Baptu
good big feast having-prepared eating-for you-gave. The-father

khō-kā-sē kihulak kī, 'chētā, hamar sāthī tu khamēsē barualā, sē
him-to said that, 'son, me with thou always art, what

barualē hamar, sē tōhrē biruaralē. Bākī khushahilā kīrukē chahuaral,
is mine, that thing is. But merry to-make it-was-wanted,

khuarē-kē tōr bhahilā rōguar ṭōāel, phēr jīuār ṭōāel; nūlā ṭōāel rahuaral,
because thy brother dead went, again alive went; lost gone was,

phēr milual ṭōāel.
again found went.

[No. 50.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

DOMRĀ.

SPECIMEN III.

DISTRICT CHAMPARAN.

Khak	rajahilā	rahuarē.	Khō-krē	dhantu	pañchēm	dhēm	gimāwē
One	rājā	was.	His	property	five	thieves	to-steal
gahuaral.	Gimātē	gimātē	narichh	hō	toāel.	Pañchēmu	
went.	Stealing	stealing	morning	becoming	went.	Five	
khāpus-mē	nalēhatu	chicharatu	kirialak,	'ah	na	jantu	bachuari.
selves-among	counsel	deliberation	made,	'now	not	living-being	will-be-saved.
Natiā lisu,	khōhi	par	dhantu	thirū,	tēpar	churdā	lēkhā khōrhāwa disu.
Bed bring,	that	on	property	place,	cloth	corpse	likeness covering give.
Charēmu-gōrū	chārū	chauā	khutā-kē	kandhatu-par	thirū	disu.	Khēk
Four-of-us	four	legs	having-lifted	shoulders-on	place	give.	One
ādmī nuithā-mē	kīcha	kōhāth-mē	thirū	lisu,	kandhatu-par	nudār	thirū
man coudung-in	fire	hand-in	place	take,	shoulder-on	hoe	place
lisu.'	Khaisani	kirū-kē	pañchēmō	gēm	gaṅgar	toāel.	
take.'	Thus	having-done	five	thieves	escaping	went.	

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

There was once a king, and five thieves came to steal his property. While they were thus occupied the morning came. The five thieves began to consult among themselves. 'Now none of us will escape. Let us take a bed and put the stolen property on it. Then let us put a cloth over the property as if it were a corpse. Let four of us take the bed at its four legs and put it on our shoulders. Let the fifth one take fire and coudung in his hand and put a hoe on his shoulder.' Having done so all five thieves escaped.

MALĀR.

The Malārs are a wandering caste of moulders in brass found in Chota Nagpur. Mr. H. Streatfeild writes of them in the Report of the 1901 Census of Bengal :—

'They claim to be Hindus and Aryans, but the local tradition is that the original Malār was the elder brother of the original Orāḍ, and that, having accidentally discovered, while warming himself by a fire one cold morning, that brass could be cast into ornamental shapes by means of sand moulds, he left his brother to do the ploughing and took up casting in brass as a profession. Their work is often very clever; small brass ornaments such as are worn by the Kols, brass ornamentation on weapons, and especially elaborately ornamental *poilas* or seer measures, being successfully cast by them. In habits they are absolutely nomadic, each family wandering about as work presents itself, staying in a village for a year or two and then moving on. I know two houses of Malārs permanently settled in a Mundā village, speaking Mundārī and working as cultivators, but a regular Malār in the same neighbourhood told me that these were practically outcasted. They have no legends of any ancestral home, and bury their dead in the village where they happen to die without marking the spot in any way. Their language is a slang formed by syllabic perversions of Nāgpuriā.'

The number of Malārs returned in Chota Nagpur at the last Census of 1901¹ was as follows :—

Ranchi	976
Palaman	125
Manbham	824
Chota Nagpur Tributary States	384
TOTAL	2,309

In addition to these 9 Malārs were returned from the Andamans.

Mr. Streatfeild has been good enough to send me a short Malār vocabulary. It fully bears out his statement that the language of the Malārs is a slang based on Nāgpuriā. Thus we find the plural suffix *man* in *bī-man*, these; *bū-man*, those; the genitive suffixes *kar* and *kēr* in forms such as *bū-kar*, his; *bū-man-kēr*, their; verbal forms such as *tuai-raukhis*, going wast, wentest; *tuak*, he has gone; *tuabai*, we shall go; *tuabā*, you will go; *tuabai*, they will go, and so on. So far as can be seen from the scanty materials the inflexional system is the same as in Nāgpuriā throughout. The vocabulary also is the same as in Nāgpuriā though there are several peculiar words such as *kurmur*, head; *khaut*, house; *khulā*, husband; *chēcās*, hair; *tuai*, going; *tōmā*, neck; *dhaparchū*, forehead; *dharmā*, liver; *tutkā*, temples; *duṛgā*, old man; *nētrai*, blood; *nōhkā*, man; *nōhkin*, woman, wife; *nōph*, breast; *pipumī*, eyelid; *baitinī*, food; *ladarmī*, stomach; *luluha*, wrist; *supulmī*, foot. In other cases ordinary words are disguised in various ways. In words such as *chēḍmā*=*chamrā*, skin; *kandpaḥni*=*kanpaḥi*, temples; *tarmū*=*tātū*, palate; *baichhū*=*bāzū*, upper arm; *misi*=*mūchh*, moustache, we find sporadic instances of slight changes of various kinds within the words. The most common way of disguising words is by adding consonants and syllables in front or at the end, just as in numerous other argots.

¹ They do not appear to have been recorded in 1911.

A *k* is prefixed in words such as *kōig*=*āg*, fire; *Kirāuchi*, *Rānchi*; *kōhāt*=*hāth*, forearm; *kōhōr*=*hār*, bone.

Kh is added in the front of some words; thus, *khāngur*, finger; *khōikh*=*aikh*, eye; *khamrē*=*hamrē*, we; *khimsār*=*mās*, flesh; *khirāṭi*=*rāṇṭi*, widow.

Ch and *chh* are, as usual, prefixed to or substituted for labials; thus, *chibhāt*, brother; *chhētā*=*bētā*, son.

Dh is used in words such as *dhēr*, a seer.

N is used in a similar way in *nail*=*bhail*, bullock.

B is prefixed in pronouns and in the numeral 'one'; thus, *bī*, this; *bū*, that; *bau*, yonder; *bēk*, one.

R is substituted for a *p* in *rāuchlū*=*pāch*, five; *rīth*=*pīth*, back; *rōtkai*=*pēt*, belly; and *l* has been used instead of *n* in *lāmbhmī*=*nābh*, navel.

In *chahinbahin*, sister, the whole word has been prefixed after substituting a *ch* for the initial *b*.

In other cases words are disguised by means of various additions at the end. Such additions are:—

kai or *khai*, in *rindikai*, veranda; *rōtkai*=*pēt*, belly; *durkhai*=*duār*, door. *Kh* alone is added in *rauKhō*, I was. A suffix *khulā* occurs in *dāntkhulā*=*dāt*, tooth.

chū is a very common addition; thus, *gāchū*=*gāl*, cheek; *jāngchū*=*jāngh*, thigh; *jibchū*=*jibh*, tongue; *bāpchū*=*bāp*, father, and so forth.

chh is added in *mōrchhā*, my; *tōrchhā*, thy; cf. *mōēchā*, I; *tōēchā*, thou.

durā has been suffixed in *kandurā*, ear.

mā, *mī*, occurs in *khaparmā*=*khaprā*, tiles; *thēhunmā*=*thēvnā*, knee; *bhaumā*=*bhaū*, brow; *pakhurmā*=*pakhaurā*, shoulder; *barāṭmī*=*riṭh*, backbone; *ērmi*=*ērī*, heel; *lāmbhmī*=*nābh*, navel, etc.

r has been added in *nākurā*=*nāk*, nose; *khimsār*=*mās*, flesh; cf. also *nar* in verbs such as *tapuarek*, to warm oneself; *foruarek*, to light a fire; *lipuarek*, to whitewash.

l is suffixed in *kharchul*=*karchhā*, ladle (also Hindi); *dōl*, two, and so forth.

Farther details may be ascertained from the short vocabulary which follows:—

Numerals.

One	<i>bēk</i> (<i>bēknōt</i> = <i>ēk-tō</i>)	Eight	<i>khāflā</i>
Two	<i>dōl</i> , <i>dōlnōt</i>	Nine	<i>naulū</i>
Three	<i>tīnlū</i>	Ten	<i>dastū</i>
Four	<i>chairlū</i>	Eleven	<i>gārmō</i>
Five	<i>rāuchlū</i>	Nineteen	<i>onāischū</i>
Six	<i>chaulū</i>	Twenty	<i>bischū</i> , <i>bēk kōrmī</i>
Seven	<i>sāllū</i>	Forty	<i>dōl kōrmī</i>

Pronouns.

I	<i>mōēchā</i>	Your	<i>tohōrmēkēr</i>
My	<i>mōrchhā</i>	He, that	<i>bū</i>
We	<i>khamarē</i> , <i>khamarmē</i>	His	<i>bū-kar</i>
Our	<i>khamrēkēr</i> , <i>khamar-mēkēr</i>	They	<i>būman</i>
Thou	<i>tōēchā</i>	Their	<i>būmankēr</i>
Thy	<i>tōrchhā</i>	This	<i>bī</i>
You	<i>tohōrmē</i>	Yonder	<i>bau</i>

Human beings.

Man	<i>nōhkā</i>	Father	<i>bāpchū</i>
Woman	<i>nōhkin</i>	Mother	<i>maichū</i>
Old man	<i>durgā</i>	Son	<i>chhēfā</i>
Old woman	<i>durgī</i>	Daughter	<i>chhēfī</i>
Boy	<i>chōrmā</i>	Brother	<i>chibhāi</i>
Girl	<i>chōrmī</i>	Sister	<i>chahin-bahin</i>
Husband	<i>khulsā</i>	Widower	<i>khirāyā</i>
Wife	<i>nōhkin</i>	Widow	<i>khirāyī</i>

Parts of the body.

Head	<i>kurmur</i>	Thumb	<i>tēpā khangur</i>
Hair	<i>chēwās</i>	Mid finger	<i>māj khangur</i>
Forehead	<i>dhaparchū</i>	Little finger	<i>kanī khangur</i>
Temples	<i>kandpathnī, tatkā</i>	Chest	<i>chhātmī</i>
Eye	<i>khōīkh</i>	Breast	<i>nōph</i>
Pupil	<i>rajnā</i>	Back	<i>rīh</i>
Eye-brow	<i>bhaumā</i>	Side	<i>dārkharī</i>
Eyelid	<i>pipinmī</i>	Stomach	<i>ladarmī; rōfkaī</i>
Eyelashes	<i>pipinmī chēwās</i>	Navel	<i>lāmbhmī</i>
Cheek	<i>gālohū</i>	Skin	<i>chēōrmā</i>
Ear	<i>kāndurā</i>	Tendon	<i>sīrchā</i>
Nose	<i>nākūrā</i>	Flesh	<i>khimsār</i>
Mouth	<i>khumhār</i>	Liver	<i>dharmā</i>
Lip	<i>ōf</i>	Lungs	<i>pokosmā</i>
Tooth	<i>dāntkhulā</i>	Heart	<i>kamalchū</i>
Tongue	<i>jibchū</i>	Bile	<i>pitchū</i>
Palate	<i>tarmā</i>	Bowels	<i>nanchū pōfmanā</i>
Jaw-bone	<i>chauhmua</i>	Blood	<i>nētrai</i>
Beard	<i>dārhi</i>	Bone	<i>kōhōr</i>
Moustache	<i>misi</i>	Ribs	<i>rañjermā</i>
Neck	<i>fōfmā</i>	Backbone	<i>barārmī</i>
Shoulder	<i>pakhurmā</i>	Thigh	<i>jāngchū</i>
Upper arm	<i>bāichhū</i>	Knee	<i>thēhunmā</i>
Fore-arm	<i>kōhāt</i>	Ankle	<i>ghufū</i>
Wrist	<i>luluha</i>	Foot	<i>supulmī</i>
Palm of hand	<i>tarhāt</i>	Sole of foot	<i>tarpanā</i>
Finger	<i>khangur</i>		

House and furniture.

House	<i>khau</i>	Cooking pot	<i>kōhjan</i>
Tiles	<i>khaparmā</i>	Earthen pot for carrying water	<i>nōgair</i>
Wall	<i>bhitchū</i>	Ladle	<i>kharchul</i>
Door	<i>durkhāi</i>	Fire	<i>kōig</i>
Space in front of house	<i>kōngēnā</i>	Ashes	<i>rākhchū</i>
Veranda	<i>rindikai</i>	Broom	<i>cheurhan</i>

Verbs.

to extinguish	<i>uifhuarek</i>	Thou goest	<i>tuathis</i>
to light a fire	<i>jōruarek</i>	He goes	<i>tuatakulis</i>
to sweep	<i>cheurhæk</i>	We go	<i>tuati</i>
to warm oneself	<i>tapuarek</i>	You go	<i>tuatū</i>
to whitewash	<i>lipuarek</i>	They go	<i>tuathai</i>
I go	<i>tuathō</i>		

QAṢĀĪ.

QAṣāī or Qaṣāb is the name of the butcher caste. The word is derived from Arabic *qaṣab*, to cut. The number of Qaṣāīs returned at the Census of 1901¹ was 369,533, distributed as follows :—

Name.	Number.
Ajmer	66
Andamans	5
Assam	23
Baluchistan	255
Bengal	11,003
Bihar	218
Bombay	24,986
Central Provinces	200
Panjab	125,644
United Provinces	184,150
Baroda	851
Central India	918
Hyderabad	2
Kashmir	824
Rajputana	20,202
TOTAL	369,533

The Qaṣāīs are commonly separated into two endogamous sub-castes, one of which kill cows and buffaloes, while the other only kill goats. In the Panjab the former call themselves *bhakkar-sikkhū*, cow killers, and the latter *mekh-sikkhū*, goat killers, or simply *sikkhū*. The latter are mostly Hindūs, the former Muhammadans of the Sunnī sect.

The Qaṣāīs seem to have a trade language of their own. During the preliminary operations of this Survey a dialect called Qaṣāīyō-ki Farsī was reported to be spoken by 2,700 persons in the Karnal District. Dr. T. Grahame Bailey has given some information about the secret language of those Qaṣāīs of the Panjab who do not kill cows.

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BAILEY, REV. T. GRAHAME, D.D.—*The Secret Words of the Qaṣāī (Kasāī). In "Linguistic Studies from the Himalayas,"* pp. 273ff. Asiatic Society Monographs, Vol. xvii. London, 1920. (A Reprint of the preceding.)

Specimens of Qaṣāī have been received from Karnal and also from the Belgaum District. The Qaṣāīs of Karnal, who numbered 5,794 at the 1901 Census, are all Muhammadans. The dialect

Language and argot.

illustrated by the specimens is of the same kind as the Qaṣāī described by Dr. Bailey. The materials received from Belgaum are stated to illustrate the language of the cow-killing Qaṣāīs. It agrees with the dialect of the Karnal Qaṣāīs in so many points that the two can safely be described as one and the same form of speech, which is an argot based on Hindōstānī. In Karnal we also find Panjābī forms such as *mazdūrā-mē*, amongst the servants. In the Belgaum specimens the dialect is much mixed with

¹ No Qaṣāīs were recorded under that name in 1911.

Dravidian, and it is probably due to this influence that the case of the agent has been discarded and that the sense of the actual meaning of some verbal forms has been weakened. Forms such as *thārtāu*, am, also occur in the second and third persons in addition to *thārtai*, art, is, and *ghāduṅgā*, I shall beat, is said to be used in all persons and numbers.

The orthography of the specimens does not seem to be consistent. Thus the word *tīp*, see, which is written with a cerebral / by Dr. Bailey and in the Belgaum specimens, occurs as *tīp* in the Karnal version of the Parable. The same text gives *dēvarnā*, to give, while the second Karnal specimen uses *lēvarnā*, to take, with a cerebral *ṇ*. The sound noted *th* is probably the sound of *th* in English "think." It had, however, been written *th* in a Nāgarī transcript which accompanied the Karnal texts. In *thūr-nā*, eat, this *th* seems to represent an *ṣ*; compare *śūḍ*, eat, in the Belgaum list and *śhūḍnā*, *śhūrṇā*, to eat, to drink, in the vocabulary published by Dr. Bailey. The same is the case in *this*, six, where Dr. Bailey has *this*; compare Arabic *sids*.

The peculiar appearance of the Qasāi argot is, to a great extent, due to the extensive use of strange words. As in the Kanjarī dialect of Belgaum many of the numerals are Arabic. Thus, *dhallā* (Bailey *talā*), three, Arabic *thalāth*; *arbā*, four, Arabic 'arba'; *khammas*, Belgaum *khammīs*, Bailey *khammas*, five, Arabic *khamīs*; *this*, Bailey *this*, six, Arabic *sids*; *āsir*, ten, Arabic 'ashar.

Numerous other peculiar words occur in the specimens and in Dr. Bailey's List. Such are *aḥāl*, put; *akēl*, one (Hindostānī *akēlā*, alone); *buḥ*, father, or, according to Dr. Bailey, a Jāt; *baḥlā*, rupee; *bhakkar*, cow; *bigarṇā* or *bigharnā*, to die (cf. Hindostānī *bigarṇā*?); *chīlknī*, ring (cf. Hindostānī *chīlaknā*, to glitter); *chīshmī*, application; *chuskō*, interest; *chabine*, tooth; *chhanakā*, boy; *dusarṇā*, to say (Belgaum, compare the Kanjarī dialect of the district); *gaunā*, to get; *gaunā*, foot (in Belgaum *guḍāle*; in the Karnal specimens *gaunā* is also used with the meaning of 'hand'); *ghārṇā*, *ghāḍnā*, to beat, to loose; *gaimb*, thief (Bailey); *hakūk*, swine (Karnal); *hajīb*, bad (Belgaum); *hap-kē-hap* (for *sab-ke-sab*), all together; *hiḍap*, take; *kachēlā* (Belgaum), *kadrā* (Karnal), son (compare *bachchā* ?); *kanēlī*, bread (Bailey *khadēlī*, *khanēlī*); *kajilī*, afternoon; *kahilā* (Karnal), *kailā* (Belgaum), rupee; *kasṇā*, to pay (perhaps English 'cash'); *kid*, give (Belgaum, compare Tamil *koḍu*); *khastā*, property; *khīlas* (Karnal), *khīlsī* (Belgaum), belly; *khēḍā*, village (Belgaum, Kanarese *khēḍā*); *khū*, go; *khūm*, word, noise; *khunsā*, starving; *lāgwārē* (Karnal), hundred; *mēknī*, goat; *minjālī*, tongue; *nakāt*, young, destitute, lost, angry (according to Dr. Bailey the meaning of this word is 'bad,' 'worthless'; it is used in different senses in the first specimen); *nakātī*, sin; *nand* (Karnal), *nann* (Belgaum), house; *nand*, water (Bailey); *nhāt*, run; *nirgā*, water (Belgaum); *pāḍā*, bull; *phēkaṇī*, nose; *sikām*, share; *śēbit*, good; *subak*, younger brother (Belgaum); *subūkdā*, man (Belgaum); *suwālā*, good (Belgaum); *śūḍ*, eat; *thāiknā*, to become, to gather; *thārtā*, being; *thūr*, eat; *thōkanā*, hundred (Belgaum); *tīp*, see; *tuluk*, sleep; *uks*, go away, and so forth.

In comparison with this extensive use of peculiar words, the disguising of common ones by means of additions in front or at the end plays a much smaller rôle in Qasāi.

Among prefixed elements we may note *k* in *kāndhā*, a Hindū (Bailey); *jh* in *jhōrā*=*thōrā*; *m* in *māḍ*, village, cf. *Sāsī nād*; *mīh*, twenty, cf. *bis*; and *l* in *līprā*, cloth, cf. Hindōstānī *kaprā*; *land* and *nand*, house.

Of final additions I have found *k* in *bulkā*, said; *ḥ* in *latōḥā*, hand; *kannōṭyā*, ear; *a* in *akōṇyā*, eye; *l* in *bandāl*, bind; *war* in *āwar*, come; *dīwar*, give, etc.; *wāḍ* in *baṭwāḍ*, sit; *bōlcāḍ*, call; *sunwāḍ*, hear, and so forth.

Further details will be ascertained from the specimens which follow. The first is a version of the Parable and the second a Qasāi version of a statement in court, both received from the Karnal District. The third is a popular tale in the dialect of the cow-killing Qasāis of Belgaum. The Standard List of Words and Sentences from Belgaum will be found below on pp. 181ff.

[No. 51.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

QASĀL.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT KARNAL.

Akēl buṭ-kā jāur kadrē thē. Nakāt kadrē-nē buṭ-sē bulkā
One father-of two sons were. Young son-by father-to it-was-said
 ki, 'ai buṭ, khastō-kā siliām jō mujhē dēwarnā hai dēwar-dē.
that, 'O father, property-of share which to-me to-be-given is giving-give.'
 Phir khastē unhē dēwar-diyā. Jhōrā dīn pichhē nakāt kadrā
Then property to-them giving-was-given. Few days after younger son
 hap-kē-hap khastē lēwar-kē dūr-kē mulk-mē uks-gayā. Wahā
all property having-taken distant country-to going-away-went. There
 thaik-kar apnē khastē kakāyat-mē urā diyē. Jab sārā uksā
having-gone own property luxury-in wasting was-given. When all spent
 chukā us mulk-mē khunsē bighar-nē lagē, aur wō kadrā nakāt
finished that country-in hungering to-die began, and that son low
 hōnē lagā. Phir us mulk-kē akēl jēdlē-kē thaik gayā. Jēdlē-nē
to-be began. Then that country-of one rich-of near went. Rich-one-by
 kadrē-kō hakūk charānē-kō uksāyā. Aur wō hakūk-kē bachē huā
son acine feeding-for was-sent-away. And he swine-of left been
 gaunō-sē apnā khilā jēdlā karnā chāhtā thā, ak kōi usē
refuse-with own belly good to-make wishing was, but anybody to-him
 dēwarē nā thā. Phir jēd hōkar khumyāyā, 'mōrē buṭ-kē
giving not was. Again sensible having-become said, 'my father-of
 bahut-sē mazdūrō-kō kanēli hai, aur maī khunsā bighrī. Maī uks-kar
many servants-to bread is, and I hungering die. I having-risen
 apnē buṭ-kē pās thaikūgā aur us-sē bulkūgā ki, "ai buṭ, maī-nē
own father-of near will-go and him-to will-say that, "O father, me-by
 āsmān-kā aur tērē huzūr nakātī kī hai, aur ab is lāik nahī
heaven-of and of-thee in-presence sin done is, and now this fit not
 ki tērā kadrā khumyāyā jāū. Mujhē apnē mazdūrō-mē-sē akēl jaisā
that thy son called shall-go. Me own servants-in-from one like
 banā." Tab uks-kar apnē buṭ-kē pās uks-gayā. Aur wōh
make." Then having-gone-away own father-of near went. And he
 dūr thā ki us-kō tīp-kar us-kē buṭ-kō rahm āyā, aur uks-kar
far was that him having-seen his father-to pity came, and having-gone

galē lagāyā aur bahut chumā. Kadrē-nē usē khumyāyā ki, 'ai neck was-clasped and much kissed. Son-by to-him it-was-said that, 'O but, āsmān aur tērē huzūr nakātī kī hai, aur is kābil nāhl father, heaven and of-thee in-presence sin done is, and this fit not ki tērā kadrā khumyāyā jāū.' But-nē apnē naukro-kō khumyāyā that thy son called shall-go.' Father-by own servants-to it-was-said kē, 'jēdlē jēdlē liprē lēwar-lāo aur usē dēwar-dō; aur kadrē-kē that, 'good good clothes taking-take and him giving-give; and son-of gaunē-mē chilkni dēwar-dō aur gaunā-mē gauniyā dēwar-dō. Aur ham hand-on ring giving-give and feet-on shoes giving-give. And we thūrē aur jēdlā hō-jāē. kyū-ki yah mērā kadrā bighrā thā, may-eat and well becoming-may-go, because this my son dead was, ab jiyā hai; nakāt hō-gayā thā, ab āwarā hai.' Tab wōh now alive is; lost become-gone was, now come is.' Then they jēd hōnē lagē. merry to-be began.

Aur us-kā jēdlā kadrā khēt-mē thā. Jab land-kē pās āwarā, And his big son field-in was. When house-of near came, gānē aur nāchnē-kī khūm sunī. Tab akēl naukar-kō khumyāyā singing and dancing-of sound was-heard. Then one servant-to it-was-said ki, 'yah kiya hai?' Us-nē usē khumyāyā ki, 'tērā bhāi that, 'this what is?' Him-by to-him it-was-said that, 'thy brother uks-āyā hai, aur tērē but-nē kanēli thūrwāi hai, is-liyē usē back-come is, and thy father-by bread caused-to-be-eaten is, this-for him jēdlā tipā.' Us-nē nakāt hō-kar nā chāhā ki nand-mē well saw.' Him-by angry having-become not wished that house-in āwarē. Tab us-kō but-nē land-sē uks-kar kadrē-kō jēdlā kiya. may-go. Then his father-by house-from having-gone-out son well made. Kadrē-nē but-sē khumyāyā, 'tip, itnē baras-sē maī tēri khidmat Son-by father-to it-was-said, 'see, so-many years-from I thy service kartā hū, aur kabhī tērē bulk-kō nā uksāyā; par tāī-nē kabhī doing am, and ever thy word not was-reversed; but thee-by ever akēl mēknī-kā kadrā nā dēwar-diya ki apnē dōstō-sē jēdlā one goat-of young not giving-was-given that own friends-with merry hū; aur jab tērā yah kadrā āwarā, jis-nē tērā khastā nakāt-mē might-be; and when thy this son came, whom-by thy property evil-in jhōrā kiya, tāī-nē us-kō jiyā bārī kanēli kī.' wasted was-made, thee-by him-of for-the-sake big dinner was-made.' Us-nē us-kō khumyāyā, 'ai kadrē, tū sadā mērē pās hai, aur Him-by him-to it-was-said, 'O son, then always of-me near art, and

jō-kuchh mērā hai, sō tērā hai. Par jēdlā hōnā lazim thā,
whatever mine is, that thine is. But merry to-become proper was.
 kyū-ki yah tērā bhāi bighrā thā, sō jiya hai; aur nakāt hō
because this thy brother dead was, he alive is; and bad having-become
 gayā thā, sō ab āwarā hai.
gone was, he now come is.

[No. 52.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

QASĀL.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT KARNAL.

Binjhaul māḍ sudhtā thā. Jāṭaul-kē hīrādar aur ham
Binjhaul village being-sold was. Jāṭaul-of brothers and we
 hap-kē-hap akēl jagah ṭhaikē. Binjhaul-mē udhar-sē wuh āwarē,
all one place became. Binjhaul-in that-side-from they came,
 aur idhar-sē ham khis-āē. Āpas-mē khūm kari kī
and this-side-from we again-went. Selves-among word was-made that
 māḍ lēwarā chāhiyē. Jāṭaulwālā-nē khumā karā kī, 'mīh
village to-take is-wanted. Jāṭaul-people-by word was-made that, 'twenty
 bisvā-kē kahilē jitnē hō rabāē sāl-kī bakāyat-sē tum dēwar-dō,
bisvā-of rupees as-many-as are four years-of promise-on you giving-give,
 aur hamārī taraf-kē bhī batlē tum kas-dō. Un-kā chuskā aur
and our side-of also rupees you pay. Them-of interest and
 kahilē rabāē sāl-mē dēwar-dēgē. Thiswē mahinē chuskā kas-diyā
rupees four years-in giving-shall-give. Six months interest paid
 karēgē.' Hap-kē-hap-nē akēl jagah ṭhaik-kar khūm kari.
shall-make.' All-by one place having-gathered word was-made.
 Ham nand-sē khammas lāgwārō batlē lēkar rabāewē din
We home-from five hundred rupees having-taken one-fourth day
 sāl-kē batlē kas-nē āē. Manījar sāhib-kē yahā
earnest-money-of money to-pay came. Manager Sahib-of in-presence
 sāl-kē batlē kas diyē. Hakāyat kari kī, 'āsar
earnest-money-of money paid was-given. Promise, was-made that, 'ten
 aglē mīh din-mē āwar-kar bēwra lēwar liyō. Sārhē
and twenty days-in having-come information taking take. With-one-half
 mīh hazār batlē-mē tum-kō māḍ dēwar-dēgē.' Manījar-nē
twenty thousand rupees-for you-to village giving-shall-give.' Manager-by
 khumā karā, 'hamārā jēdlā vilāyat-mē ṭhaikā hai. Māḍ-kē sōdh
word was-made, 'our master Europe-in seated is. Village-of sale
 dēnē-kā āsar aglē mīh din mē khabar lēwar-liyō.' Mīh
giving-of ten and twenty days in information taking-take.' Twenty
 aglē āsar diu-mē Bērī-kē ilāqā-kē kādā-nē purē akēl mīh
and ten days-in Beri-of district-of banyā-by full one twenty

hazār-mē mād lēwarnē-ki chishmī dī. Hamē khabar
thousand-for village taking-of application was-given. To-us information
 hul ki akāl Bērī-kā kādū mād lēwartā hai. Ham khammas
became that one Bērī-of banyā village taking is. We five
 lāgwārē batlō sāt-kē kas-āē. Aisi hakāyat na
hundred rupees earnest-money-of paying-came. Such matter not
 hōwē, mād bhi gaunē na lagē aur kahilē bhi
should-happen, village also to-get not should-succeed and money also
 ghāpē jāwē. Hap-kē-hap khumā kar-kē Bērī khis-gāē. Bērī
lost should-go. All-together word having-made Bērī again-went. Bērī
 thāik-kar hap-kē-hap-kō thāikā-kar khumā kiya, 'tū hamārē
reaching all having-gathered word was-made, 'you our
 birādar. Kādū tumbhārā hai, us-nē mād lēwarnā thāp liya hai.
brother. Banyā yours is, him-by village to-take resolve taken is.
 Ham Jāṭaul-sē āwarē haī. Bhāichārē-sē kādū-kō khunyāō
We Jāṭaul-from come are. Brotherhood-on-account-of banyā-to say
 ki mād na lēwarē. Kādū-sē khumā karā, 'tū hamārā
that village not should-take. Banyā-to word was-made, 'thou our
 lālā hai. Hamārī hakāyat mān-lē; hamārē birādrā-kō mād
respected-sir art. Our request obey; our brothers-to village
 lēwarnē dē. Kādū hakāyat mān gayā, mād lēwarnē-sē khis
to-take give. Banyā request heeding went, village taking-from back
 gayā. Ham birādrā-nē mād lēwar-liyā.
went. We brother-by village taking-was-taken.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

Binjhaul village was going to be sold. We and our brothers in Jataul came together. They came from there and we from here to Binjhaul, and we agreed to buy the village. The Jataul people said, 'pay the price which may be fixed for twenty biswā¹; you might undertake to pay in four years and also our share of the money. In four years we shall refund you the money with interest, and we shall pay interest every six months.' We had all gathered in one place and consulted, and four days afterwards we came to pay five hundred rupees as earnest-money, and we paid them in the presence of the manager. He told us to come back in a month and get information, and that he might let us have the village for thirty thousand rupees. 'My master,' he said, 'is in Europe. You may get his decision about the sale in a month.' After a month a Banyā² of the Beri District made an application for getting the village at a price of twenty thousand rupees, and we were informed that the Banyā was going to buy it. We had paid five hundred rupees in earnest-money and it would be too bad not to get the village and also to lose our money. We then consulted and went to Beri, and then we all came together and said, 'you are our brothers. There is a Banyā amongst you, and he has resolved to buy the village. We have now come from Jataul. For the sake of our kinship tell the Banyā not to buy the village.' They said to him, 'you are our respected master; listen to our words and let our brothers have the village.' The Banyā took notice of their request and withdrew from the business. Then we brothers got the village.

¹ A *biswā* is the twentieth part of a *bighā*.

² The word *bāḍā*, here translated 'Banyā,' usually means 'grain-patcher.'

[No. 53.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

QASĀL.

SPECIMEN III.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Ekkan	khōdō-me	Rāmāyā	kaṇē-kā	ekkan	patēl	thārtā-thā.	Une
One	village-in	Rāmāyā	called	one	patēl	was.	He
ekkan	rōjū	bajār-ku	khū-huwā-thā,	taw	whā	suwālā	khammis
one	day	bazar-to	went,	then	there	good	five
Gōvē-kā	āmb	mōl-ku-hidap-kō	nann-ku	awaryā.			Us-ku
Goa-of	mangoes	having-bought	house-to	came.			Him-to
arabā-jan	kachēlē	thārtā-the.	Un-kā	nau	Sank	Bala	
four-persons	sons	were.	Them-of	names	Sank	Bala	
Bhīma	Haṇama.	Patēl	apani	arabā	jan	kachēlē-kū	bōlwād-ko
Bhīma	Haṇama.	Patēl	own	four	persons	sons	having-called
dusāryā,	'kachēlē,	hidap,	maī	bajār-mē-si	yō	khammis	
said,	'sons,	to,	by-me	bazar-in-from	these	five	
āmb	lewaryā-hal.	Tume	arabā	jan	arabā	hidap-ke	
mangoes	taken-are.	You	four	persons	four	having-taken	
khammis-kā	āmb	tumāre	ammā-ku	kid.		Ē	banat
fifth	mango	your	mother-to	give.		These	words
suwād-ke	ō	kachēlē-ku	khuś	huwādā.		Uno	aīsā
having-heard	those	sons-to	pleasure	became.		By-them	such
suwālā	āmb-phal	kab-bī	tipyā-ch-natte.		Uno	yō	phal
nice	mango-fruits	ever-even	seen-not-were.		By-them	these	fruits
hidap-ke	khū-hō-ke	dusārē-wāisā	batwād-karwād-ke			śudē.	
having-taken	having-gone	said-as	divided-made-having			were-eaten.	
Kajilī-ku	tuluk-te	wakht-me	Rāmāyā	kachēlē-ku		bōlwād-ke	
Evening-at	sleeping	time-in	Rāmāyā	sons		having-called	
dusāryā,	'pyār	kachēlē,	tāwach	kidyātā	āmb	kēsa	thārtā-the ?
said,	'dear	sons,	them-only	given	mangoes	how	were ?
Use	Sank	kaṇē-kā	tuwānā	kachēlē	uttar	kidyā,	'bābā, ō
To-that	Sank	called	eldest	son	answer	gave,	'father, that
phal	miḥe	bahut	śēbit	diswādya.	Ō	bahut	śēbit phal
fruit	to-me	much	good	appeared.	That	very	good fruit

thartai.	Maī	us-ki	binjya	jatan	karwād-ke	tharā-liyā-hai.
is.	By-me	that-of	stone	care	having-made	kept-taken-is.
Use	nirgā-ke	rōjū	śuru	hōwād-ke	wakt-me	pēr-wāḍṭaū.
That	rain-of	days	beginning	having-become	time-in	am-sowing.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

In a certain village there lived a Patāl named Rāmāyā. One day when he had been to the market, he purchased five excellent mangoes and brought them home. He had four sons, Sank, Bāla, Bhīma and Hanama. He called his four sons together and said to them, 'children, look here, I have brought these five mangoes from the bazar. Keep four of them for yourselves and give the fifth one to your mother.' The children were pleased to hear these words; they had never before seen such nice mangoes. They took the fruit away and divided them among themselves as they had been told. At bed-time Rāmāyā called his children and said, 'dear children, how did you find the mangoes that were then given to you?' To this Sank, the eldest son, replied, 'father, I found the fruit very good. It is an excellent fruit. I have preserved the stone that I may sow it when the rainy season sets in.'

SIKALGĀRĪ.

The caste known as *saigalgars*, *siqligars*, *sikligars*, etc., are armourers and polishers of metal. The name is a Persian word, *saigalgar*, a cleaner, polisher, derived from the Arabic base *saqal*, to polish.

Name:

'Since the disarming of the country,' says Mr. Crooke, 'the trade of the armourer and cutler has become depressed. The ordinary Siqligar seen in towns is a trader of no worth, and his whole stock-in-trade is a circular whetstone (*sān*) worked by a strap between two posts fixed in the ground. He sharpens a four-bladed knife, a pair of scissors or two razors for a pice. Their status is that of ordinary Muhammadans of the lower artizan class.'

The number of Sikligars returned at the Census of 1911 was 5,922, of whom 2,096 were recorded in the Rajputana Agency, the rest being shown as 'elsewhere.'

Number:

Of these 4,548 were returned as Hindūs, 818 as Sikhs, and 556 as Musalmāns.

We do not possess any information to the effect that the Sikligars, as a whole, possess a language of their own. A separate dialect called

Language:

Sikalgāri was, however, during the preliminary operations of this Survey returned from the Belgaum District of Bombay, where it was said to be spoken by 25 individuals in the Samggaon *talūga* in the south of the district. Two specimens and the Standard List of Words and Sentences in Sikalgāri have been forwarded from that place.

To judge from these materials Sikalgāri in most particulars agrees with Gujarātī. Compare forms such as *dikarō*, son; *dikarā*, sons; *gāyāyō*, cows; the case suffixes dative *-nē*; ablative *-tō* (Gujarātī *-thō*); genitive *-nō*; locative *-mā*; pronouns such as *mārō*, my; *ham*, we; *tunē*, you; verbal forms such as *chhē*, is; *hotō*, was; *lidyō*, took; *matyū*, it was got; *charācā-nō*, to tend; *thēl*, become, and so forth.

Some few characteristics, however, point in other directions. With regard to phonology we may note the frequent doubling of consonants and the common disaspiration of aspirates; compare *chhukkhō*, hungering; *chōllāwā*, to be called; *duttinē*, having eaten; *nittē*, always; *guffā*, bale; *khubbō*, standing; *sādīnē*, having searched; *halō*, hand. Both features are found in other Gipsy languages. The former may point towards Pañjābī; the latter reminds us of Dravidian.

Of inflexional forms which are not Gujarātī we may note the periphrastic future in *gō*; thus, *thauṅgā*, we shall become. Similar forms of the future are also used in Rājasthānī. The termination of the singular is *gō* as in Eastern Rājasthānī.

The *g*-future is also used in some Bhil dialects,¹ and it is possible that there is a connexion between Gipsy dialects such as Sikalgāri and Bhilī. Thus it is probable that the dialect described as Siyālgiri in Vol. IX, Part iii, pp. 197 and ff., has something to do with Sikalgāri.

Connexion with Siyālgiri:

¹ See Vol. II, Part iii, p. 7.

Both dialects mainly agree with Gujarātī. They also agree in not possessing the case of the agent, in dropping a *e* before *i* and *ē*, and in the frequent use of a *kh* instead of an *s*. This *kh* has been treated as a spirant *kh* in dealing with Siyālgirī. In Sīkalgārī, however, it is certainly an aspirate as in other Gipsy argots. The Siyālgirs of Midnapore, who are supposed to have immigrated from the west some five or six generations ago, now follow a variety of occupations. Some sell fish, some make and sell bamboo mats, some are cultivators, and a few sell groceries. If they were originally Sikligars, the many points in which their dialect agrees with Sīkalgārī are easily explained. The points of disagreement do not present any serious obstacle to this hypothesis, if we remember that the Siyālgirs have long lived among strangers and must necessarily have come under the influence of the dialects spoken by their surroundings. It is more to be wondered that the two forms of speech still present so many points of agreement.

The substitution of a *kh* instead of an *s* and also of other sounds in Sīkalgārī mentioned above must be compared with the various devices for disguising words in other Gipsy dialects. Sīkalgārī is not a simple dialect, but also an artificial argot. There are several peculiar words such as *kōyrā*, people, men; *khālmānyū*, swine; *khēdō*, village; *khōl*, house; *gār*, give; *chingā*, dress; *chōkō*, good; *chhīmaō*, horse; *duṭ*, eat; *dhōtriyō*, belly; *nikat*, run; *nikar*, die; *nikdiyō*, thief; *pādō*, bull; *poṭṭū*, child; *ranban*, wife; *subādā*, rupee.

Moreover we find some of the common devices of disguising ordinary words by means of various additions. A *kh* is sometimes prefixed before words beginning with a vowel; thus, *khubō*, standing; *khuppar*, above; *kheklā-mā*, in so much, in the meantime; *khaikīnē*, having heard; *kh* is also frequently substituted for an initial *s*; thus, *khāt*, seven; *khāmō*, before; *khārā*, all; *khāpdyō*, he was found; *khō*, hundred. In *khyāpāryō*, a tradesman, it has replaced a *v*, cf. Gujarātī *vēpārī*.

Ch and *chh* are apparently only substituted for labials, as in other Gipsy argots; compare *chōllāwā*, to be called; *chāyē*, way, means, if this is derived from *upāy*; *chhāndī*, having bound; *chhukkō*, hungering.

An *a* has been substituted for an initial *p* in *nāpchī*, sin.

Several words receive additions at the end, and a final consonant is often dropped before such additions.

Several additions contain a guttural. The simplest one consists of a *kh*, which is substituted for a final *s*; thus, *kāpukh*=*kapās*, cotton; *ikh*, twenty; *dakhalā*, ten; *manekh*, man; *warakh*, year. A *t* is added to this *kh* in forms such as *ākhṭī*, she came; *lēkhtyō*, tookest. In *nikat*, run, *kat* seems to be used in the same way. The addition *gōṭ* in *kagōtyō*, did; *ghāgōṭō*, put, is perhaps also connected. An *n* is also sometimes added to these suffixed gutturals; thus, *jākan*, he goes; *gaknyō*, went; *chhōknō*, boy, compare Gujarātī *chhōkrō*; *rhākan*, he lives; *rhakanyō*, he remained. We may add the suffix *gal* in words such as *ghāgal*, put; *jāgal*, go; *dhagāl-wā-nū*, of catching; *phaglinō*, again.

It is tempting to compare these additions with the Muṇḍā suffixes *kat*, *kan*, which play a great rôle in the conjugation of verbs.

A *khl* or *kl* has been added in words such as *ekhlā*, so many; *kekhalā*, how many? *kheklā-mā*, so-much-in, in the meantime.

A *ch* has been suffixed in words such as *nāṇchī*, sin; *mhēche-lā*, putting take; compare Gujarāṭī *mēlwā*.

Other additions are *t*, *ḍ* and *p*; thus, *dēwā-nū*, of God; *jīwō*, alive; *nākōdū*, nose; *mhōḍū*, mouth; *anpū*, food.

For further particulars the specimens which follow should be consulted. The first is a version of the Parable, the second a popular tale. The Standard List of Words and Sentences will be found on pp. 181ff.

[No. 54.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SIKALGĀRI.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Ek manekh-nē bē dīkarā hotā, Tinā-mā nhānchōn dīkarō
One man-to two sons were. Them-among by-the-younger son
 āpnō yabā-nē kadyō, 'yabā, tārī jingānī-mā ma-nē akhtwānō wātō
own father-to it-was-said, 'father, thy property-in me-to coming share
 ma-nē gār.' Yabō tinā-mā āpnō jingī wātīnē
me-to give. By-the-father them-among own property having-divided
 gāryō. Nhānchōn dīkarō āpnō wātō line dūr gām-nē
was-given. Younger son own share having-taken far country-to
 jāknīnē ghanā dīn thayā naī, kheklā-mā tō dhundh thainē
having-gone many days were not, that-in he riotous having-become
 āpnō jingānī hāl-kagōtyō. Tō im karīnē-par tē gāmō-mā
own property wasted-was-made. He so having-done-on that village-in
 jahar dukāl padīnē tī-nē garībī ākhtī. Tō tē gāmō-mā
mighty famine having-fallen him-to poverty came. He that village-in
 ēk manekh-kan tsākri chakhanyō. E manekh tī-nē khālmānyū
one man-near in-service remained. This man him swine
 charāwānō khētar-nē walāy gāryō. Tyā chhukkō kalwal
to-graze field-to sending was-given. There hungry afflicted
 thainē khālmānyū dutwānō kōpdō-bī duttī-nē dhōtrīyō
having-become swine eaten husks-even having-eaten belly
 bhagli-lētō-tō, pan tī-nē ki-kantū kāyī mālyū naī. Im
filling-was, but him-to anybody-from anything was-got not. So
 thōknā dīn gakyā, āpnō pāchānī wāt mālum padīnē tō āpnā
few days passed, own former state known having-fallen he own
 man-mā kadyō, 'mārā yabā-kan rhayēnō ghanā tsākryāw-nē dhōtrīyō
mind-in said, 'my father-near living many servants-to belly
 bhārī-nē khuppar anpū māltū-tū; mī hyā chhukkō nikartaū.
having-filled above food obtained-was; I here hungry am-dying.
 Mī khubō-thārīnē yabā-kan jāknīnē kadyō, "yabā mī dēwṭā-nū
I having-got-up father-near having-gone said, "father, by-me God-of

pāp yabā-nū pāp chhāndi lidyō. Mī tārā dīkarō karīnē
 sīn father-of sīn having-tied was-taken. I thy son having-said
 chollāwā jōgō nāl. Ma-nē ēk tsakrī dākal tārā-kan
 to-be-called worthy not. Me one servant like of-thee-near
 mbāchivī-lā."* Im kainē tyā-tō tō khubō-tharīnē āpnā
 keep."* So having-said there-from he up-having-arisen own
 yabā-kan jākantō-tō. Pachē yabō dūr-tō tī-nē dēkhīnē mayā
 father-near going-was. Then father far-from him having-seen pity
 āvinē niktīnē jāknīnē dhag-līnē mattī gāryō.
 having-come having-run having-gone having-embraced kiss was-given.
 Pachē dīkar yabā-nē kadyō, 'yabā, mī dēwtā-nū khāmō tārā
 Then son father-to said, 'father, by-me God-of before of-thee
 khāmō nāpchi kagōtyō. Ma-nē tārā dīkarō karīnē chollāwu
 before sīn was-done. Me thy son having-said to-call
 nakō.' I-nē yabō āpnō tsakarwālā-nē kadyō, 'chōkō chīngā
 is-not-fit.' This-to father own servants-to said, 'good dress
 lāvine mārā dīkarā-nē ghāgōtō; nāpchā-mā khaṅgōtī ghāgōtō,
 having-brought my son-to put-on; finger-on ring put,
 pagō-mā jōdwā ghāgōtō; dutwān-nō tayārī kagōtō; ham duttī-nē
 feet-on shoes put; dinner-of preparation make; we having-eaten
 santōs thauṅgā, sakarwā-kai-tō, yē mārō dīkarō nikaryō-tō, phaglinē
 merry shall-become, because, this my son dead-was, again
 jiwō āyō; niktīnē gakyō-tō, khāpdyō.' E khaikīnē khārā
 alive came; lost gone-was, was-found.' This having-heard all
 santōs thayā.
 merry became.

Yē wakhat-mā tī-nō mōtō dīkarō khētar-mā hotō. Tō khōl-kan
 This time-in his elder son field-in was. He house-near
 āwtākhā tī-nē gānū nāchanū khaikū āyū. Tō tē tsakar-wālā-mā
 coming him-to singing dancing to-hear came. He those servants-among
 ek-nē chollāyīnē, 'sū thāwā lāgū-ch?' kadyō. Tyā-nō tō, 'tārō
 one-to having-called, 'what becoming is?' said. Him-to he, 'thy
 bhāyī ākhtyō-ch; tō chōkō ākhtyō karīnē dutwā kagōtyō,' im
 brother came-even; he well came having-said dinner was-made,' so
 kadyō. Yē khaikīnē mōtō dīkarō rekh-āyīnē māhi gakyō
 said. This having-heard elder son having-got-angry inside went
 nāl, karīnē tī-nō yabō baharō āvinē, 'māhi ākhtal,'
 not, having-done his father outside having-come, 'inside come,'
 karīnē tī-nē ghanō kadyō. Tī-nē 'ō āpnō yabā-nē kadyō, 'mī
 having-said him-to much said. That-to he own father-to said, 'I

ekhlā warakh tallakh tārō tsākri kagōṭinē kadī tāri wāt
so-many years up-to thy service having-done ever thy command
 bhāgyō naī. Pan mī mārā mbaitarnē malinē duṭwā
was-broken not. But I my friends having-gathered feast
 kagōṭwadē tū ma-nē kadī ēk bakrō-bī gāryō naī. Pantū
making-for thou me-to ever one goat-eaten was-given not. But
 rāṇḍ-nō saṅgat paḍinē tāri jingī khāri galī-gayō-tō
harlots-of in-company having-fallen thy property all squandering-gone
 yē tārō dīkarō khōl-nē ākhlāṭākhū tū ti-nē walē duṭwā
this thy son house-to coming-on thou of-him for-the-sake dinner
 kagōṭyō. Yabō dīkarō-nē kadyō, 'tū mārā-kan nittē rhasi.
was-made. Father son-to said, 'thou of-me-near always art.
 Mā-kan rabeltō khārā tārā-ch mayē. Nikaryō-tō tāri bhāyi
Me-near being all thine-alone is. Dead-was thy brother
 phaglinē jiwō ayō; nikṭinē gakyō-tō, khāpdyō, karinē ham santōs
again alive came; lost gone-was, was-found, having-said we merry
 thawānū barōbar chhē.
to-become proper is.'

[No. 55.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SIKALGÄRL.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Ijāpur-mā ēk khyāpāryō kākukh-nō ghanō khyāpār kagōttō-tō. Ēk
Bijapur-in one merchant cotton-of large trade doing-was. One
 dīn tē gām-mā-tū kāyi nikḍiyā malinē wakat sādīnē
day that village-in-from some thieves having-gathered time having-sought
 tē khyāpāryā-nō khōl-mā-nū ghan kākukh-nā gatta nikḍi karinē
that merchant-of house-in-of many cotton-of bales stealing having-made
 li-gayā. Pachā to khyāpāryō bādsahā-kan jākninē apnō khōl-mā
took-away. Then that merchant king-near having-gone own house-in
 nikḍi-thēl wāt kadyō. 'Im nikḍi thawāni ghani sarmundī
theft-committed story told. 'So theft to-become very disgraceful
 wāt chhē; āj-nō dīn dharinē chār dīn-mā tū tē nikḍiyā-nē
matter is; today-of day including four days-in thou those thieves
 nāl dhaglyō-tō tārū mātū nikārūngā, im tī-nē hukum kagōtyō. Yē
not caught-hast thy head will-cut-off, so him-to order made. This
 wāt khaikinē kotwāl nikḍiyā-nē patiyō kādwanē walō ghanṭāl
word having-heard kotwāl thieves-of way tracing for much
 khatpat kagōtyō, pan tē khaḍyā nāl.
labour did, but they were-found not.
 Kheklā-mā bādsahā-nō gāral chār dīn kharinē pāchmō dīn
This-much-in king-of given four days having-expired fifth day
 ākhtyō. 'Kotwāl-nō mātū nikārūngā,' karinē gām-mā daṅgōrō
came. 'Kotwāl-of head will-cut-off,' having-said village-in drum
 khojādyō. Yē khaikinē khārā kōyrā talmaiyā; sakarwākaitō
was-beaten. This having-heard all people were-grieved; because
 kotwāl khārā-nē chōkō hotō. Yē khabar khaikinē tē gām-mā-nō
kotwāl all-to dear was. This news having-heard that village-in-of
 ēk śyānō manekh bādsahā-kan jākninē hatō jōdīnē māgi
one clever man king-near having-gone hands having-joined begging
 lidyō.
was-taken.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

A merchant in Bijapur was dealing in cotton on a large scale. One day some thieves from the city formed a gang and, seeking an opportunity, stole a number of cotton bales from the merchant's house. Then the merchant went to the King and informed him of the theft committed in his house. The King (sent for the Kotwāl) and gave him the following order, 'that such a theft should have been committed in my town, is really a disgrace. If you fail to trace the thieves within four days, I shall have you beheaded.' At this the Kotwāl tried his best to trace the thieves, but they were not found.

In the meantime the four days granted by the King expired, and the fifth day came. It was announced by the beating of drums that the Kotwāl was to be decapitated. All the people were grieved to hear this, for the Kotwāl was very popular. Hearing this news a clever man in the town went to the King, and joining his hands begged.

GULGULIĀ.

The Gulguliās are a wandering non-Aryan tribe, who live by hunting, teaching monkeys to dance, selling indigenous drugs, begging, and petty thieving. Sir Herbert Risley thinks that they are a branch of the Bediyās.

At the Census of 1911, 853 Gulguliās were returned, 824 from Bihar and Orissa and 29 from elsewhere.

No information about the language of the Gulguliās is available in Census Reports, and no such dialect was reported during the preliminary operations of this Survey. At the Census of 1901 it was, however, reported from the Hazaribagh District that the Gulguliās do not ordinarily speak a separate dialect, but that they make use of a kind of argot when they intend to prevent others from understanding what they say. Three short sentences in this jargon were forwarded to Sir Edward Gait, the then Superintendent of the Census operations in Bengal, and he has been good enough to place them at the disposal of this Survey. They show that this argot is of the same kind as other secret jargons. In the first place there are some peculiar words such as *tebigō*, fell; *lugigō*, died; *kutāchhi*, have eaten; *liōr*, tempest; *nēmru*, bullock; *nāhkat*, in the house. Some of these are well known from other argots, compare Sāsi *ṭawpā*, fall; *lugyā*, die; *dūtā*, eat; *nād*, village; Garōḍi *nānd*, house. Besides this, ordinary words are disguised by changing their initials. Thus *kh* is substituted for *b* in *khāh*=*biyāh*, wedding, and for *p* in *kheāch*=*pāch*, five; *jh* for *t* in *jhīn-gō*=*tīn*, three; *n* for *g* in *nāchh*=*gāchh*, tree, and so forth. I now give the sentences themselves with an inter-linear translation.

Kōrāet	liōr	tebigō;	jhīn-gō	nāchh	tebigō,	kheāch-gō	nēmru
Last-night	a-tempest	fell;	three	trees	fell,	five	bullocks

lugigō,
died.

Jhātu-sēti	nōpi	kutāchhi,	nāhkat	kōnāgi	nōpi	chhakhālō.
Yesterday-from	not	eaten-have,	house-in	food (?)	not	is.

Hamar	pānhir	khāh	bhēkhaligō,	jamāe	nāhkat	chhakhālō.
My	daughter's	wedding	became,	son-in-law	house-in	is.

STANDARD LIST OF WORDS AND SENTENCES IN THE GIPSY
LANGUAGES.

STANDARD LIST OF WORDS AND SENTENCES

English.	ଓଡ଼ିଆ (Cutch).	सहो (Ordinary).	सहो (Criminal).
1. One . . .	Ek . . .	Ek . . .	Bek . . .
2. Two . . .	Don . . .	Do . . .	Dhar . . .
3. Three . . .	Tin . . .	Tin . . .	Thar . . .
4. Four . . .	Chār . . .	Chār . . .	Chang . . .
5. Five . . .	Pāch . . .	Pañj . . .	Nāch . . .
6. Six . . .	Chha . . .	Chē . . .	Nhō . . .
7. Seven . . .	Sāt . . .	Sat . . .	Nhat . . .
8. Eight . . .	Āṭh . . .	Ath . . .	Koṭh . . .
9. Nine . . .	Nau . . .	Nau . . .	Khañ . . .
10. Ten . . .	Das . . .	Das . . .	Khas . . .
11. Twenty . . .	Vīs . . .	Wi . . .	Khis . . .
12. Fifty . . .	Pachās . . .	Pañjah . . .	Nañjah . . .
13. Hundred . . .	Sā . . .	Sau . . .	Nhan . . .
14. I . . .	Hē . . .	Hañ . . .	Hañ . . .
15. Of me . . .	Māchā . . .	Mecē . . .	Mārgā . . .
16. Mine . . .	Māchā . . .	Mecā . . .	Mārgā . . .
17. We . . .	Amī . . .	Ham . . .	Ham . . .
18. Of us . . .	Am-chā . . .	Mhārē . . .	Mhārgē . . .
19. Our . . .	Am-chā . . .	Mhārā . . .	Mhārgā . . .
20. Thou . . .	Tū . . .	Taū . . .	Taū . . .
21. Of thee . . .	Tidhā . . .	Tērā . . .	Tērgā . . .
22. Thine . . .	Tidhā . . .	Tērā . . .	Tērgā . . .
23. You . . .	Tamī . . .	Tam . . .	Tam . . .
24. Of you . . .	Tam-chā . . .	Tuhārē . . .	Tuhārgē . . .
25. Your . . .	Tam-chā . . .	Tuhārā . . .	Tuhārgā . . .

Eñhàtì (Akola).	Gàròlì.	Myàrmàtò.
Bák	Ekumà	Khák
Dhór	Dulimà	Dóg
Thár	Timà	Tэг
Nyār	Chyārmà	Chög
Nách	Pāchmà	Nách
Chhà	Chhāmà	Chhòlì
Satta	Sāimà	Nhatòlò
Wotha	Ātmà	Khòt
Naw	Naumt	Navòlò
Dāhà	Daemà	Dasòlò
Bis	Biamt	Nis
Nammà	Chāllā-daamt	Nachās
Sō	Saumà	Nhà
Hō	Mi	Mà
Mērā	Mērò	Mērò
Mārā	Mērò	Mērò
Ham	Ham	Hamò
Hamārā	Hamārò	Hamārò
Hamārā	Hamārò	Hamārò
Tā	Tā	Tā
Tārā	Tērò	Tērò
Tērā	Tērò	Tērò
Tam	Tam	Tumò
Tumārā	Tumārò	Tumārò
Tumārā	Tumārò	Tumārò

Kanjeri (Simpur).	Kanjeri (Belgaum).	Nati (State Kanpur).
Bak; khakala	Ekkan	Bak
Dubala	Jand	Dhor
Tibala	Dhalla	Phar
Chabala	Araba	Chanak
Pachala	Khammita	Nach
Chhabala	Tha	Nho
Sabala	Khammita-jand	Nath
Khatala	Khammita-dhalla	Kot
Namala	Ope-asir	Khanau
Dastala	Asir	Khas
Bisala	Mr	Khta
Rachaa	Khadde-thokapo	Machaa
Sawala	Thokapo	Khanu
Ma	Ma	Hu
Mero	Mero	Mero
Mero	Mero	Mero
Ham; ma	Hama	Kham
Mero	Hamaro	Khamara
Mero	Hamaro	Khamara
Ta	Ya	Na
Tero	Yuroko	Tora
Tero	Yuroko	Tora
Ta	Tuma	Num
Tero	Tumaro	Numhara
Tero	Tumaro	Numhara

IN THE GIPSY LANGUAGES.

Qum.	Sikalgel (Belgum).	English.
Ekkan	Ek	1. One.
Jand	Ba	2. Two.
Dhallā	Tan	3. Three.
Arhā	Chār	4. Four.
Khammle	Pāch	5. Five.
Thā	Chhā	6. Six.
Khammi-jand	Khāt	7. Seven.
Khammi-dhallā	Āt	8. Eight.
Onpā-āsir	Nau	9. Nine.
Āsir	Dakhālā	10. Ten.
Mi	Īh	11. Twenty.
Pachyā	Bā-ikh-dakh	12. Fifty.
Thokapā	Kho	13. Hundred.
Maī	Mi	14. I.
Mārā	Mārā	15. Of me.
Mārā	Mārā	16. Mine.
Hām	Ham	17. We.
Hamārā	Hamārā	18. Of us.
Hamārā	Hamārā	19. Our.
Tā	Tā	20. Thou.
Terā	Tārā	21. Of thee.
Terā	Tārā	22. Thine.
Tame	Tamā	23. You.
Tumārā	Tumārā	24. Of you.
Tumārā	Tumārā	25. Your.

English.	Orkī (Catch).	Sīai (Ordinary).	Sīai (Criminal).
26. He	Sā	Uh	Buh
27. Of him	Tā-chā	Uakā	Busakā
28. His	Tā-chā	Uakā	Busakā
29. They	Sā, (awō)	Uh	Buh
30. Of them	Tā-chā, (awā-chā)	Uakā	Busakā
31. Their	Tā-chā, (awā-chā)	Uakā	Busakā
32. Hand	Hāth	Hāth	Khōth
33. Foot	Pag	Pair	Nair
34. Nose	Nak	Nakk	Khakk
35. Eye	Ākh	Ākkh	Kakkhi
36. Mouth	Mō	Mūh	Khūh
37. Tooth	Dāi	Dand	Khadaud
38. Ear	Kan	Kann	Kann
39. Hair	Wār	Bal	Bal
40. Head	Thor	Sir	Nhis
41. Tongue	Jibh	Jibh	Jibh
42. Belly	Pet	Pett	Nett
43. Back	Patb	Pattb	Nittb
44. Iron	Lodhā	Lohā	Lohā
45. Gold	Sānā	Sannā	Baunnā
46. Silver	Rāpē	Chāndī	Chāndī
47. Father	Bā	Bāpp	Bāptā
48. Mother	Āi	Mā	Mautī
49. Brother	Bhāu	Bhai	Bhautā
50. Sister	Bāp	Bāu	Dhabāp
51. Man	Māpas	Banda	Kōdmī
52. Woman	Bāyri	Janāni	Bārmī

Kōshōji (Akola).	Gāndhī.	Mānvalā.
Ō	Wo	Ū
Us-kā	Wō-kā	Wāko
Us-kā	Wō-kā	Wākō
Ō	Yō	Vō
Un-kā	Yō-kā	Wākōyi
Un-kā	Yō-kā	Wākōyi
Hōtta; kohōt	Gōno	Gōt
Pāw; gōnā	Gōnāli	Gōpā
Khanākka; nākka	Nakōchi	Khinak
Kekkha	Kauōchi	Gōdi
Khumma	Khomdā	Chhōgōdō
Natta	Dāḍwā	Kod
Rānu	Kānōchi	Rikan
Nay	Turwālō	Ral
Tummi	Tolcho	Nakō
Nib	Jibōchi	Jib
Neḥ	Dhamuklō	Rāpaḥ
Nitth	Pauōchi	Nit
Lokhapd	Dharāli	Lhō
Bōnnā	Bōngā	Bōno
Nāri	Gaudilō	Nāndi
Bāptā	Bhāwutō	Māwutō
Bhāwti	Māwuti	Māwuti
Bhāwta	Bhōkōā	Rhākō
Bānchi	Bhānichi	Rhākī
Kōind	Khadmi, or kājā	Khādmi
Kājī; hēḥi	Kājī	Dāmi

Kanjarī (Sihagur),	Kanjarī (Bulgnam),	Nālī (Siata Hampar),
Bihī; wō; hirō; ūr . . .	Ē	Wah
Birō-kō; urū-kō . . .	Urokō	Nus-kā
Birō-kō; urū-kā . . .	Urokō	Ans-kā
Bihī; wō; hirō; ūr . . .	Ō	Wō
Birō-kō; urū-kō . . .	Unākō	Nun-kā
Birō-kō; urū-kō . . .	Unākō	Nun-kā
Kohat	Hattēto	Hūt
Gurārā, gurārā . . .	Gurdāle	Nāḥ
Nak-hēli	Nakoṭā	Naktā
Takhut	Khakōle	Ūkh
Khōmar	Maudā	Khum
Dat-hēlō	Datēle	Khudāi
Kan-hēlā	Kanēle	Bān
Bar-hēlā	Bālō	Khabāl
Mar-hēlā	Śirō	Nēhas
Jim-hēli	Jibēli	Khajīb
Pit-hēlō	Pētō	Nōṭ
Pit-hēli	Pitēli	Nith
Lahālō	Lahawō	Khalōyā
Rōnō	Sannō	Bēnā
Rūdī	Chāndī	Khanādī
Bap-hēlō	Bapō	Khabāp; nāp
Maktāri	Māiyā	Khamī
Chihbāt	Bhai	Bhaotā
Rahin	Bhayap	Chhēn
Najāḥ; khādmī . . .	Kājarō	Kādmī
Najāt	Kājari	Khēr

Gipsy.	Sikalgari (Belgamm).	English.
Une	To	26. He.
Uo-ká	Tiná	27. Of him.
Uo-ká	Tiná	28. His.
Uno	Tá	29. They.
Uo-ká	Tiná	30. Of them.
Un-ká	Tiná	31. Their.
Hatótá	Hatá	32. Hand.
Gadále	Pagó	33. Foot.
Phokapi	Nakódá	34. Nose.
Akogyá	Kángi	35. Eye.
Má	Mhódú	36. Mouth.
Chahne	Dátó	37. Tooth.
Kannótyá	Kánódá	38. Ear.
Balá	Balo	39. Hair.
Śir	Máti	40. Head.
Minjálí	Jib	41. Tongue.
Khíli	Dhotriyó	42. Belly.
Pit	Pitódá	43. Back.
Lawhá	Lhódó	44. Iron.
Sóná	Khónú	45. Gold.
Klurá	Chándi	46. Silver.
Balá	Yabó	47. Father.
Ánniá	Yáyi	48. Mother.
Tawáná-bhai (elder), subak-bhai (younger).	Bhāyi	49. Brother.
Bá (elder), bhāy (younger)	Bhāy	50. Sister.
Subákjā	Mauekh	51. Man.
Subákadi	Bāyko	52. Woman.

English.	Ólár (Celtic).	Sál (Ordinary).	Sál (Gímnal).
53. Wife	Wau	Rann	Báml
54. Child	Chóyrá	Mórdá, mórdí	Bórá, bórl
55. Son	Pórl	Pár	Bórl
56. Daughter	Dhó	Dhl	Bórl
57. Slave	Golám	Ghalám	Ghalám
58. Cultivator	Kharó	Karjá	Khará
59. Shepherd	Bhannár	Ájrl, ajárl	Ájrl, ajárl
60. God	Rhagwán	Khudá	Rudáh
61. Devil	Dál	Shaitán	Shaitán
62. Sun	Sáraj	Sáraj	Náraj
63. Moon	Chandar	Chann	Chann
64. Star	Tará	Tará	Tará
65. Fire	Tádhá	Ágg	Frúgl, kórg
66. Water	Párl	Phórl	Chál
67. House	Ghar	Ghar	Khanla
68. Horse	Gorá	Ghórá	Kódrá
69. Cow	Gáy	Gé	Lárl
70. Dog	Kutá	Kutá	Bhakal
71. Cat	Míná	Balá	Koulá, ghárlá
72. Cook	Kukrá	Kakar	Kakar
73. Duck	Balak	Batak	Batak
74. Ass	Gáro	Khotá	Ganqá
75. Camel	Úth	Úth	Thab
76. Bird	Pakhl	(Little) Chiriyá, paúchhl	Niriyá
77. Go	Já	Jayá	Jarqá
78. Eat	Khá	Kháná	Dáraqá
79. Sit	Bés	Balsqá	Thaúkná

Kōhōri (Akola).	Gārdi.	Myānwā.
Bhatānī	Nathiyā	Bair
Kajōṭh	Lāwqō	Golpō
Chhōrā	Lāwqō	Golpō
Chhōri	Lāwqō	Golpā
Lōṇḍā	Dhikmō	Nāngādī
Nēhātikari	Bāt	Dhugābī
Banūgar	Dhanētyā	Dhangar
Nōw	Dēmā	Khidew
Chhut	Bhutmā	Nhōt
Nhuriyā	Suriyā	Nhuriyā
Nān	Chandihl	Chānd
Nārā	Tārā	Tāro
Kōggō	Dekhāngi	Kiehl
Chānt	Nirmā	Chāyī
Khōggā	Nānd	Khōk
Rhōḍā	Ghōrṭō	Ghōḍchō
Rāy	Kāwō	Gāyt
Dhōkkal	Dhāgliā	Jakālā
Kuḍḍi	Jilāti	Nilayt
Kukōh	Paktā	Chhurgā
Nadāk	Badāk	Nadāk
Bāddhu	Khārsā	Nopērā
Khōṭ	Huōṭ	Khōt
Nanāwar	Chīḍī	Chāgliā
Jāsā	Dhāyil	Hitwāq
Dutta	Bēt	Dutwāq
Bā	Thig	Tawāq

Kanjari (Sitapur).	Kanjari (Bulgaon).	Nari (State Rampur).
Melnāra	Jō	Chhō
.....	Bachchā	Khabālak
Chūkkō	Baidō	Bārā
Chūkt	Baidt	Bōri
Gulamhālō	Pālakō	Gulām
Khit-hālō	Rait	Rasūn
Dharariā	Dhangar	Randariyā
Rām	Mahābōh	Nannōswar
Ghut-hālō	Saitāne	Khabhūt
Saraj-hālō	Surāj	Naraj
Chand-hālō	Chānd	Khanād
Tar-hālā	Tārō	Khatārā
Jhurai	Angārō	Ōg
Nimāni	Niwāni	Chhāi
Rib	Nandō	Lohallā
Ghurārō	Ghōrō	Rohachā
Nādh	Gāyo	Tiyārgi cāō
Jhūkū	Kuttō	Jhumkar
Bilāā	Billi	Khahlāi
Murgā	Murgā	Khamurg
Radak	Batkō	Tiyārgi nadak
Gādā	Gaddō	Rohā
Uṭ-hālō	Hūt	Hūt
Chirālā	Parinde	Narand
Jaugh	Nikhar	Jāstrō
Dūt	Thār	Doni lō
Raith	Chāt	Thāsi jā

Qash.	Shakhsat (Belgum).	English.
Jorā	Ranban	33. Wife.
Bachchā	Pottā	54. Child.
Kachchā	Dikarā	55. Son.
Kachchī	Dikarī	56. Daughter.
Hājibādā	Loktā	57. Slave.
Rait	Rhait	58. Cultivator.
Dhangar	Dhangar	59. Shepherd.
Allā	Dēwtā	60. God.
Šaitān	Hbatān	61. Devil.
Sorij	Din	62. Sun.
Chānd	Chānd	63. Moon.
Tārā	Chāndut	64. Star.
Angār	Āy	65. Fire.
Nirgā	Pānī	66. Water.
Nann	Khol	67. House.
Ghōdā	Chhimō	68. Horse.
Bhakkar	Gsyōī	69. Cow.
Kuttā	Kutō	70. Dog.
Billī	Billādī	71. Cat.
Muragā	Kakdō	72. Cook.
Badak muragi	Badak	73. Duck.
Gadaḍā	Gadaḍā	74. Ass.
Hīt	Hīt	75. Camel.
Parindā	Pākhrā	76. Bird.
Khā	Jākun	77. Go.
Šōḍ	Dot	78. Eat.
Batwāḍ	Bukhal	79. Sit.

English.	Ógáí (Cuteh).	8Eá (Ordinary).	8Eá (Criminal).
80. Come . . .	Áw . . .	Aupá . . .	Aapá . . .
81. Bent . . .	Mar . . .	Márpá . . .	Lópá . . .
82. Stand . . .	Úbh . . .	Khlopá . . .	Khlopá; khalá or rajá hópá
83. Die . . .	Mar . . .	Marpá . . .	Ingpá . . .
84. Give . . .	Dá . . .	Dépá . . .	Déppá . . .
85. Run . . .	Dhór . . .	Naspá, áaupá . . .	Bipkú . . .
86. Up . . .	Máthá . . .	Ulará . . .	Khápá . . .
87. Near . . .	Papkhá-má . . .	Népá . . .	Dhanópá . . .
88. Down . . .	Nichá . . .	Tajá . . .	Talá . . .
89. Far . . .	Pará . . .	Dár . . .	Khadár . . .
90. Before . . .	Morá . . .	Aggá . . .	Kaggá . . .
91. Behind . . .	Wáá . . .	Pichhá . . .	Nichhá . . .
92. Who . . .	Kón . . .	Kaup . . .	Kann . . .
93. What . . .	Káy . . .	Kyá . . .	Kyá . . .
94. Why . . .	Kuláy . . .	Kyú . . .	Kyú . . .
95. And . . .	Aná . . .	Tá . . .	Tá . . .
96. But . . .	Par . . .	Par . . .	Par . . .
97. If . . .	Já . . .	Jekar, jé . . .	Jekar jé . . .
98. Yes . . .	Há . . .	Álá . . .	Álá . . .
99. No . . .	Ná . . .	Ná . . .	Ná . . .
100. Alas . . .	Ará . . .	Háá . . .	Háá . . .
101. A father . . .	Bá . . .	Bápp . . .	Báptá . . .
102. Of a father . . .	Bá-chá . . .	Báppá-gá (-gá, -gí, -gíá) . . .	Báptá-gá . . .
103. To a father . . .	Bá-ná . . .	Báppá-gá . . .	Báptá-gá . . .
104. From a father . . .	Bá-tí . . .	Báppá-thá . . .	Báptá-thá . . .
105. Two fathers . . .	Dón bá . . .	Dó bápp . . .	Dhor báptá . . .
106. Fathers . . .	Bá . . .	Bápp . . .	Báptá . . .

Kāshāt (Akshat)	Uārōḥi	Hyānwālē
Nyākūā	Hāyil	Barwād
Thāy	Lugā	Lōā
Uā rahō	Khōt-kō khāb-cā	Khāb-cōk
Lūki jā	Lug	Lugit
Dōppa	Walā	Khichwād
Nhā	Nimal	Chigwād
Uprō	Khōpar	Khōpar
Najik	Kan	Khurō
Tanlē	Tan	Talkō
Dur	Dār	Dog
Sāmō	Khagāḥi	Khagāḥi
Pichahhō	Dhichhāḥi	Ripchō
Kōy-yō	Kōn	Kun
Kyā	Kā	Kā
Kyō	Kaikō	Kāykō
An	Haur	Or
Pac; natant	Lōkin	Lōkin
Jab	Tō	To
Hāw	Hoy	Hē
Nāhāpi	Hapenā	Nāl
Arōrō	Arō	Ayyō
Bāptā	Ek-mā bhāwutō	Khāk māwutō
Bāptō-kā	Ek-mā bhāwutō-kō	Khāk māwutō-kō
Bāptō-ku	Ek-mā bhāwutō-kā	Khāk māwutō-kā
Bāppā-thō-at	Ek-mā bhāwutō-at	Khāk māwutō-at
Dhōr bāptō	Dul-mā bhāwutō	Dog māwutō
Bāpō	Bhāwutō	Māwutō

Kaujarī (Shapur).	Kajjōr (Hojasen).	Najī (State Rampur).
Aogh	Awar	Āwarō
Lugai	Kuṭwār	Lōthō
Tharō hō	Khōt	Rarōpi
Lugaj	Margō	Lōgi jān
Tidr	Kidō	Dōpi dē
Daurī	Nharwārō	Khadōrō
Khūpar	Khūpar	Khūpar
Nagich-hālō	Pā	Hadōrō
Tar-hālī	Jinī	Khatar
Dur-hālī	Dūr	Khador
Rāmnō	Sambor	Kōgō
Richhō	Pichwād	Nichhō
Kaon	Kau	Rou
Kā	Kā	Ryā
Kith-kō	Kai	Nō
Baur	Aur	Kor
Mul	Phirta
.....	To
Hā	Ho	Nā
Nah	Na	Mahī
.....	Āy	Nahō
Bap-hālō	Ekkay bapō	Bek khabāp
Bap-hālā-kā	Ekkay bapō-kā	Bek khabāp-kā
Bap-hālā-kū	Ekkay bapō-ku	Bek khabāp-rō
Bap-hālā-ō	Ekkay bapō-ō	Bek khabāp-rō
Dubālō bap-hālā	Jand bapō	Dhor khabāp
Bap-hālā	Bapō	Chhūt khabāp

Quail.	Sikalguri (Belgaum).	English.
Awar	Ākhat	80. Come.
Ghāḡ	Nikār	81. Bent.
Upwāl	Khubōthār	82. Stand.
Bigar	Nikar	83. Die.
Kid	Gār	84. Give.
Nhat	Nikat	85. Run.
Uppar	Khuppar	86. Up.
Najik	Kan	87. Near.
Talle	Khōḡ	88. Down.
Dār	Dār	89. Far.
Sāmmō	Khāmō	90. Before.
Pichchō	Pāchō	91. Behind.
Kō	Kun	92. Who.
Kyā	Sā	93. What.
Ki	Sakarwā	94. Why.
Bhī	Sōkat	95. And.
Lekin	Pan	96. But.
To	To	97. If.
Hoya	Hā	98. Yes.
Naī	Naī	99. No.
Ayyō	Ayyō	100. Alas.
Ekkan bābā	Ēk yabō	101. A father.
Ekkan bābā-kā	Ēk yabā-nā	102. Of a father.
Ekkan bābā-kū	Ēk yabā-nō	103. To a father.
Ekkan bābā-se	Ēk yabā-tō	104. From a father.
Jaṇḡ bābā	Bē yabā	105. Two fathers.
Bābā	Yabā	106. Fathers.

English.	Oṛiṣi (Cuteb).	Sāṭi (Ordinary).	Sāṭi (Criminal).
107. Of fathers . . .	Bāwā-chā . . .	Bappā-gā . . .	Bāptā-gā . . .
108. To fathers . . .	Bāwā-nē . . .	Bappā-gū . . .	Bāptā-gū . . .
109. From fathers . . .	Bāwā-ti . . .	Bappā-thō . . .	Bāptā-thō . . .
110. A daughter . . .	Dhū . . .	Dhī . . .	Bārī . . .
111. Of a daughter . . .	Dhū-chā; dhūi-chā, etc. . .	Dhū-gā . . .	Bārī-gā . . .
112. To a daughter . . .	Dhū-nē . . .	Dhū-gū . . .	Bārī-gū . . .
113. From a daughter . . .	Dhū-ti . . .	Dhū-thō . . .	Bārī-thō . . .
114. Two daughters . . .	Dhū dhū . . .	Dō dhū . . .	Dhōr bārī . . .
115. Daughters . . .	Dhū . . .	Dhū . . .	Bārī . . .
116. Of daughters . . .	Dhū-chā . . .	Dhū-gā . . .	Bārī-gā . . .
117. To daughters . . .	Dhū-nē . . .	Dhū-gū . . .	Bārī-gū . . .
118. From daughters . . .	Dhū-ti . . .	Dhū-thō . . .	Bārī-thō . . .
119. A good man . . .	Sārā mānā . . .	Chāgā (or sāk) ādmī (or bādī) . . .	Chāgā kōdmī . . .
120. Of a good man . . .	Sārā mānā-chā . . .	Chāgā ādmī-gā (or bādī-gā) . . .	Chāgā kōdmī-gā . . .
121. To a good man . . .	Sārā mānā-nē . . .	Chāgā ādmī-gū . . .	Chāgā kōdmī-gū . . .
122. From a good man . . .	Sārā mānā-ti . . .	Chāgā ādmī-thō . . .	Chāgā kōdmī-thō . . .
123. Two good men . . .	Dōp sārā mānā . . .	Dō chāgā ādmī . . .	Dhōr chāgā kōdmī . . .
124. Good men . . .	Sārā mānā . . .	Chāgā ādmī (or bādī) . . .	Chāgā kōdmī . . .
125. Of good men . . .	Sārā mānā-chā . . .	Chāgā ādmī-gā . . .	Chāgā kōdmī-gā . . .
126. To good men . . .	Sārā mānā-nē . . .	Chāgā ādmī-gū . . .	Chāgā kōdmī-gū . . .
127. From good men . . .	Sārā mānā-ti . . .	Chāgā ādmī-thō . . .	Chāgā kōdmī-thō . . .
128. A good woman . . .	Sārī bāyī . . .	Chāgī janānī . . .	Chāgī bārī . . .
129. A bad boy . . .	Nikām chhōyā . . .	Bhāī mānā . . .	Nhāī (or nhārā) bārī . . .
130. Good women . . .	Sārī bāyī . . .	Chāgī janānī . . .	Chāgī bārī . . .
131. A bad girl . . .	Nikām chhōyī . . .	Bhāī mānī . . .	Nhāī (or nhārā) bārī . . .
132. Good . . .	Sārā . . .	Chāgā . . .	Chāgā . . .
133. Better . . .	Wadhārē sārā . . .	[Is thō or is satthā] chāgā . . .	[Is thō or is satthā] chāgā . . .

Kōmōji (Ahoj).	Gurōji.	Myōmōji.
Bāptō-kā . . .	Bhāwutō-kō . . .	Māwutō-kō . . .
Bāptō-thō . . .	Bhāwutō-kō . . .	Māwutō-kō . . .
Bāptō-thō-si . . .	Bhāwutō-si . . .	Māwutō-si . . .
Chhōri . . .	Ek-mā lāwḍi . . .	Khōk gelpi . . .
Chhōri-kā . . .	Ek-mā lāwḍi-kō . . .	Khōk gelpi-kō . . .
Chhōri-kn . . .	Ek-mā lāwḍi-kn . . .	Khōk gelpi-kn . . .
Chhōri-thō-si . . .	Ek-mā lāwḍi-sē . . .	Khōk gelpi-sē . . .
Dhōr chhōriyā . . .	Dul-mā lāwḍi . . .	Dōg gelpi . . .
Chhōriyā . . .	Lāwḍi . . .	Gelpi* . . .
Chhōriyā-kā . . .	Lāwḍi-kō . . .	Gelpi-kō . . .
Chhōriyā-kn . . .	Lāwḍi-kn . . .	Gelpi-kn . . .
Chhōriyā-thō-si . . .	Lāwḍi-sē . . .	Gelpi-sē . . .
Kōchchhā kōdmī . . .	Ek-mā chisam khādmi . . .	Khōk khāchō khādmi . . .
Kōchchhā kōdmīyā-kā . . .	Ek-mā chisam khādmi-kō . . .	Khōk khāchō khādmi-kō . . .
Kōchchhā kōdmīyā-kn . . .	Ek-mā chisam khādmi-kn . . .	Khōk khāchō khādmi-kn . . .
Kōchchhā kōdmīyā-thō-si . . .	Ek-mā chisam khādmi-sē . . .	Khōk khāchō khādmi-sē . . .
Dhār bhālō kōdmī . . .	Dul-mā chisam khādmi . . .	Dōg khāchō khādmi . . .
Bhālō kōdmī . . .	Chisam khādmi . . .	Khāchō khādmi . . .
Bhālō kōdmīyā-kā . . .	Chisam khādmi-kō . . .	Khāchō khādmi-kō . . .
Bhālō kōdmīyā-kn . . .	Chisam khādmi-kn . . .	Khāchō khādmi-kn . . .
Bhālō kōdmīyā-thō-si . . .	Chisam khādmi-sē . . .	Khāchō khādmi-sē . . .
Hōṭṭi kōsal . . .	Ek-mā chisam kōji . . .	Khōk siri dāmi . . .
Burā chhōrā . . .	Ek-mā bhālō lāwḍi . . .	Khōk sugāṇō gālō . . .
Kōsal hōṭṭiyā . . .	Chisam kōji . . .	Siri dāmi . . .
Buri kajḍi . . .	Ek-mā bhālō lāwḍi . . .	Khōk sugāṇō gālō . . .
Kōsal; achchhā . . .	Chisam . . .	Khāchō . . .
Achchhā . . .	Isi chisam . . .	Wā-sē-tā khāchō . . .

Kan-jari (Siampru).	Kan-jari (Belgum).	Nati (State Siampru).
Bap-hôlâ-kâ . . .	Bâpâñ-kâ . . .	Khabâpñ-râ . . .
Bap-hôlâ-kû . . .	Bâpâñ-ku . . .	Khabâpñ-rô . . .
Bap-hôlâ-sê . . .	Bâpâñ-se . . .	Khabâpñ-rê . . .
Châbki . . .	Ekkap baiđi . . .	Bêk bôri . . .
Châbki-kâ . . .	Ekkap baiđi-kâ . . .	Bêk bôri-râ . . .
Châbki-kû . . .	Ekkap baiđi-ku . . .	Bêk bôri-rô . . .
Châbki-sê . . .	Ekkap baiđi-se . . .	Bêk bôri-rê . . .
Dubêlâ chûbki . . .	Jandê baiđê . . .	Dhâr bôriyâ . . .
Châbki . . .	Baiđê . . .	Chhât bôriyâ . . .
Châbki-kâ . . .	Baiđê-kâ . . .	Bôriyâ-râ . . .
Châbki-kû . . .	Baiđê-ku . . .	Bôriyâ-rô . . .
Châbki-sê . . .	Baiđê-se . . .	Bôriyâ-rê . . .
Khachchhê najâ . . .	Ekkap niro kâjarô . . .	Bêk kuchchhâ kôdmî . . .
Khachchhê najâ-kâ . . .	Ekkap niro kâjarô-kâ . . .	Bêk kuchchhâ kôdmî-râ . . .
Khachchhê najâ-kû . . .	Ekkap niro kâjarô-ku . . .	Bêk kuchchhâ kôdmî-rô . . .
Khachchhê najâ-sê . . .	Ekkap niro kâjarô-se . . .	Bêk kuchchhâ kôdmî-rê . . .
Dubêlâ khachchhê najâ . . .	Jandê niro kâjarâ . . .	Dhâr kuchchhâ kôdmî . . .
Khachchhê najâ . . .	Niro kâjarâ . . .	Chhât kuchchhâ kôdmî . . .
Khachchhê najâ-kâ . . .	Niro kâjarâ-kâ . . .	Kuchchhâ kôdmîyâ-râ . . .
Khachchhê najâ-kû . . .	Niro kâjarâ-ku . . .	Kuchchhâ kôdmîyâ-rô . . .
Khachchhê najâ-sê . . .	Niro kâjarâ-se . . .	Kuchchhâ kôdmîyâ-rê . . .
Khachchhê najâ . . .	Ekkap niri kâjari . . .	Bêk kuchchhâ khêr . . .
Dharâb chûbki . . .	Ekkap kargâl baiđi . . .	Bêk rarâb bôri . . .
Khachchhê najâ . . .	Niri kâjarê . . .	Kuchchhâ khêriyâ . . .
Dharâb chûbki . . .	Ekkap kargâl baiđi . . .	Bêk rarâb bôri . . .
Khachchhê . . .	Niro . . .	Kuchchhâ . . .
.....	Ue-âs niro . . .	Chhât kuchchhâ . . .

Qn61.	Sikangit (Belgeand).	English.
Babā-kā	Yabā-nō	107. Of fathers.
Babā-kō	Yabā-nō	108. To fathers.
Babā-ee	Yabā-to	109. From fathers.
Ekkap kachōli	Ek dikari	110. A daughter.
Ekkap kachōli-kā	Ek dikari-nō	111. Of a daughter.
Ekkap kachōli-kō	Ek dikari-nō	112. To a daughter.
Ekkap kachōli-ee	Ek dikari-to	113. From a daughter.
Jaṇḍ kachōlyā	Bē dikariyā	114. Two daughters.
Kachōlyā	Dikariyā	115. Daughters.
Kachōlyā-kā	Dikariyā-nō	116. Of daughters.
Kachōlyā-kō	Dikariyā-nō	117. To daughters.
Kachōlyā-ee	Dikariyā-to	118. From daughters.
Ekkap śōhit subūkdā	Ek chōkō manekh	119. A good man.
Ekkap śōhit subūkdā-kā	Ek chōkō manekh-nō	120. Of a good man.
Ekkap śōhit subūkdā-kō	Ek chōkō manekh-nō	121. To a good man.
Ekkap śōhit subūkdā-ee	Ek chōkō manekh-to	122. From a good man.
Jaṇḍo śōhit subūkdō	Bē chōkō mankhō	123. Two good men.
Śōhit subūkdō	Chōkō mankhō	124. Good men.
Śōhit subūkdō-kā	Chōkō mankhō-nō	125. Of good men.
Śōhit subūkdō-kō	Chōkō mankhō-nō	126. To good men.
Śōhit subūkdō-ee	Chōkō mankhō-to	127. From good men.
Ekkap śōhit subūkdī	Ek chōkī lāyko	128. A good woman.
Ekkap hajīb chihōrā or chihannkā	Ek khattar chhōkō	129. A bad boy.
Śōhit subūkdīyā	Chōkiyō bāhōjiyō	130. Good women.
Ekkap hajīb chihōrī or chihannakī	Ek khattar chhōkū	131. A bad girl.
Śōhit	Chōkō	132. Good.
Ittī śōhit	Ittī chōkō	133. Better.

English.	Oḍiā (Cuten).	Sāi (Ordinary).	Sāi (Criminal).
134. Best . . .	Badhā-ti sārā . . .	[Sabhāñ satthā] chaṅgā . . .	[Sabhāñ satthā] chōṅguā . . .
135. High . . .	Ūchā . . .	Uchehā . . .	Khuchchā . . .
136. Higher . . .	Wadhārā ūchā . . .	[Is thō] uchehā . . .	[Is thō] khuchchā . . .
137. Highest . . .	Badhā-thi ūchā . . .	[Sabhāñ satthā] uchehā . . .	[Sabhāñ satthā] khuchchā . . .
138. A horse . . .	Gorā, (hīapā) . . .	Ghōrā . . .	Kādrā . . .
139. A mare . . .	Gōrī, (hīapī) . . .	Ghōrī . . .	Kādrī . . .
140. Horses . . .	Gorā . . .	Ghōrā . . .	Kādrā . . .
141. Mares . . .	Gōrī . . .	Ghōrī . . .	Kādrī . . .
142. A bull . . .	Godhā, dhagā . . .	Dhaggā . . .	Kāngal . . .
143. A cow . . .	Gāy . . .	Gā . . .	Lābi . . .
144. Bulls . . .	Godhā, dhagā . . .	Dhaggā . . .	Kāngal . . .
145. Cows . . .	Gāy . . .	Gā . . .	Lābi . . .
146. A dog . . .	Kutā . . .	Kotā . . .	Dhōkal . . .
147. A bitch . . .	Kutī . . .	Kutti . . .	Dhōkāl . . .
148. Dogs . . .	Kutā . . .	Kotā . . .	Dhōkal . . .
149. Bitches . . .	Kutī . . .	Kutti . . .	Dhōkāl . . .
150. A he goat . . .	Bakrā . . .	Bakrā . . .	Chhābyā . . .
151. A female goat . . .	Bakrī . . .	Bakrī . . .	Chhābyī . . .
152. Goats . . .	Bakrā . . .	Bakrā . . .	Chhābyā . . .
153. A male deer . . .	Hārū . . .	Hārū . . .	Hārū . . .
154. A female deer . . .	Hārī . . .	Hārī . . .	Hārī . . .
155. Deer . . .	Hārū . . .	Hārū . . .	Hārū . . .
156. I am . . .	Hā sē . . .	Hāū hai . . .	Hāū hōpō . . .
157. Thou art . . .	Tā ai . . .	Tāū hai . . .	Tāū hōpō . . .
158. He is . . .	Sā wē . . .	Uū hai . . .	Būū hōpō . . .
159. We are . . .	Amī wā . . .	Hām hā . . .	Hām hōpō . . .
160. You are . . .	Tamī sawā . . .	Tām hō . . .	Tām hōpō . . .

Kōshōji (Akafe).	Gōshōji.	Nyānshō.
Achōhō	Dah chisau	Naba[ō-ai] chōchō
Khōchōhō	Khōchōhō	Khōchō
.....	Iatī khōchōhō	Wā-ō-ō khōchō
.....	Dah khōchōhō	Naba[ō-ai] khōchō
Rhōdā	Ek-mū ghōrtō	Khōk ghōdchō
Rhōdī	Ek-mū ghōrtī	Khōk ghōdchī
Rhōdā	Ghōrtō	Ghōdchō
Rhōdīyā	Ghōrtī	Ghōdchī
Bāi	Ek-mū kēwō	Khōk nōi
Rāy	Ek-mū kēwai	Khōk gōyī
Bāi	Kēwō	Nōi
Rāyī	Kēwai	Gōyī
Dhōkkāl	Ek-mū dhōnglā	Khōk jukālā
Rutī	Ek-mū dhōnglī	Khōk jukālī
Dhōkkāl	Dhōnglā	Jukālā
Rutīyā	Dhōnglī	Jukālī
Nōkkađ	Ek-mū rōmnā	Khōk nōkādā
Nōkkađī	Ek-mū rōmnī	Khōk rōchālī
Nōkkađ	Rōmnā	Nōkādō
Rah : khōran	Nar harī	Khōk dhālvī khāran
Khōranī	Mādi harī	Khōk nādi khāran
Khōran	Harī	Khāran
Hū hō	Mī hapelā	Mō hī
Tū hō	Tū hapelā	Tō hī
Ō hō	Wō hapelā	Ū hī
Ham hō	Ham hapelā	Hamō hī
Tam hō	Tam hapelā	Tamō hī

Kasraj (Ritapur).	Kasraj (Belgaon).	Naji (State Rampur).
.....	Byādik nīṭ . . .	Rab-rē kumchhā . .
Khūcho . . .	Khuñcho . . .	Khōcha . . .
.....	Us-da khūcho . .	Chhūt khōchā . .
.....	Byādik khūcho . .	Rab-rē khōchā . .
Ghurārō . . .	Ekkay ghōḍ . . .	Bek ruharchā . . .
Ghurārī . . .	Ekkay ghōḍī . . .	Bek ruharchī . . .
Rahut ghurārō . .	Ghōḍā . . .	Ruharchō . . .
Rahut ghurārī . .	Ghōḍī . . .	Ruharchiyā . . .
Sār-bāḷō . . .	Ekkay pādō . . .	Bek lōd . . .
Nāḍī . . .	Ekkay ghāyō . . .	Bek tiyārgī rā . .
.....	Pādā . . .	Nāḍ . . .
.....	Ghāyō . . .	Tiyārgī rā . . .
Jhūkū . . .	Ekkay kutō . . .	Bek chhumkar . . .
Jhūkūī . . .	Ekkay kutī . . .	Bek chhumkarī . . .
.....	Kuttā . . .	Chhūt chhumkar . .
.....	Kuttī . . .	Chhūt chhumkariyā . .
Bakrā . . .	Ekkay bakarō . . .	Bek chakra . . .
Bakrī . . .	Ekkay bakarī . . .	Bek chakrī . . .
Bakrā . . .	Bakarā . . .	Chakriyā . . .
Khira . . .	Ekkay larn . . .	Kharnu . . .
Khira . . .	Ekkay harn . . .	Kharn . . .
Khira . . .	Harnē . . .	Chhūt kharn . . .
Maī hughā . . .	Maī hō . . .	Khā rō . . .
Taī hughē . . .	Yō hō . . .	Kham hōchō . . .
Wo haughō . . .	Ē hō . . .	Woh hōchō . . .
Ham haughō; maī hughā .	Hamō hō . . .	Kham hōchī . . .
Taī hughō . . .	Tamō hō . . .	Nam hōchō . . .

Quill.	Sikimisi (Belgum).	English.
Sab-w sōhā	Ghañō chākō	134. Best.
Uchā	Uchō	135. High.
Ist umhā	Jat uchō	136. Higher.
Sab-w umhā	Ghañō uchō	137. Highest.
Ekkay ghōā	Ek ekhimā	138. A horse.
Ekkay ghōdī	Ek ekhimā	139. A mare.
Ghōā	Chhimā	140. Horses.
Ghōdyā	Chhimādyā	141. Mares.
Ekkay pādā	Ek pādā	142. A bull.
Ekkay bhakkā	Ek gāyā	143. A cow.
Pādā	Pādā	144. Bulls.
Bhakkā	Gāyā	145. Cows.
Ekkay kuttā	Ek kutrā	146. A dog.
Ekkay kuttī	Ek kutrī	147. A bitch.
Kuttā	Kutrā	148. Dogs.
Kuttī	Kutrī	149. Bitches.
Ekkay bakrā	Ek bakrā	150. A he goat.
Ekkay chhō	Ek bakrī	151. A female goat.
Bakrā	Bakrā	152. Goats.
Ekkay mār harā	Ek harā	153. A male deer.
Ekkay mādi harā	Ek harā	154. A female deer.
Harā	Harā	155. Deer.
Maī thārtā	Mī chhō	156. I am.
Tā thārtā	Tā chhō	157. Thou art.
Uw thārtā	Tā chhō	158. He is.
Ham thārtē	Ham chhō	159. We are.
Tam thārtē	Tam chhō	160. You are.

English.	Okt (Cuteh).	Sēs (Ordinary).	Sēs (Criminal).
161. They are . . .	Sā sī . . .	Uh haī . . .	Buh hōpē . . .
162. I was . . .	Hē silā . . .	Haū thīyyā (or stīyyā, etc.)	Haū thīyyā (or stīyyā, etc.)
163. Thou wast . . .	Tā silā . . .	Taū thīyyā . . .	Taū thīyyā . . .
164. He was . . .	Sē silā . . .	Uh thīyyā . . .	Buh thīyyā . . .
165. We were . . .	Amī silē . . .	Ham thīyyē . . .	Ham thīyyē . . .
166. You were . . .	Tamī silē . . .	Tam thīyyē . . .	Tam thīyyē . . .
167. They were . . .	Sā silē . . .	Uh thīyyē . . .	Buh thīyyē . . .
168. Be . . .	Hō . . .	Hō (sing.), hōwō (plur.)	Hōp, hōpō . . .
169. To be . . .	Hōnō . . .	Hōnā . . .	Hōpā . . .
170. Being . . .	Hōtā . . .	Hōtā . . .	Hōptā . . .
171. Having been . . .	Hōtinō . . .	Hōtkō . . .	Hōpt kē . . .
172. I may be . . .	Hē hawē . . .	Haū hōwē . . .	Haū hōpē . . .
173. I shall be . . .	Hē havi; hē haviāō . . .	Haū hōgrā . . .	Hōpāgrā . . .
174. I should be . . .	Machō halē khapē . . .	Haū hōtā . . .	Hōptā . . .
175. Beat . . .	Mār . . .	Mār, mārō . . .	Lō, lōō . . .
176. To beat . . .	Māyōō . . .	Mārpā . . .	Lōpā . . .
177. Beating . . .	Mārti . . .	Mārtā . . .	Lōtā . . .
178. Having beaten . . .	Mārtinō . . .	Mārikō . . .	Lōtkō . . .
179. I beat . . .	Hē mārō sē . . .	Haū mārta haī . . .	Haū lōtā hōpē . . .
180. Thou beatest . . .	Tā mārī sī . . .	Taū mārta haī . . .	Taū lōtā hōpē . . .
181. He beats . . .	Sē mārō sē . . .	Uh mārta haī . . .	Buh lōtā hōpē . . .
182. We beat . . .	Amī mārō sī . . .	Ham mārta hā . . .	Ham lōtā hōpē . . .
183. You beat . . .	Tamī mārō sawē . . .	Tam mārta hō . . .	Tam lōtā hōpē . . .
184. They beat . . .	Sā mārī at . . .	Uh mārta haī . . .	Buh lōtā hōpē . . .
185. I beat (Past Tense) . . .	Mē mārīā . . .	Maī mārīā . . .	Maī lōyā . . .
186. Thou beatest (Past Tense) . . .	Tē mārīā . . .	Taī mārīā . . .	Taī lōyā . . .
187. He beat (Past Tense) . . .	Tōyē mārīā . . .	Uy mārīā . . .	Buō lōyā . . .

KOIMET (Akola).	* Gāṇḍī.	Myrmecia.
Vā hā	Yā hapelā	Vā hū
Hā thiyā	Mī chhā	Mā hī
Tā thiyā	Tā chhā	Tā hī
Ō thiyā	Wā chhā	Ū hī
Ham thiyā	Ham chhā	Hamō hī
Tam thiyā	Tam chhā	Tamō hī
Vā thiyō	Yā chhā	Vā hī
Hā	Rhapel	Rhā
Hōnā	Rhapel-nā-kō	Rhōpākō
Hōtā	Rhapel-tō	Rhētā
Hawā hō	Rhapelōsō	Rhōsō
Hū hōnā	Mī rhapelungā	Mā rhānāgā
Hū hōngqū	Mī rhapelungō	Mā rhānāgō
Hū hōnā	Mī rhapelungōch	Mā rhōpākō hōyū
Mār	Lugā	Lōt
Mārēnā	Lugākū	Lōtpākō
Mārtā	Lugātō	Lōttō
Māryā hā	Lugākō	Lōt-kō
Hū mārta	Mī lugāū	Mō lōtā
Tō mārta	Tā lugāū	Tā lōtā
Ō mārta	Wā lugāū	Ū lōtā
Ham mārte	Ham lugāū	Hamō lōtā
Tam mārte	Tam lugāū	Tamō lōtā
Vā mārte	Yā lugāū	Vā lōtā
Mē-nā māryā	Mī lugāyō	Mē lōtō
Tā-nā māryā	Tā lugāyō	Tā lōtō
Un-nā māryā	Wā lugāyō	Ū lōtō

Kanjari (Sitapur).	Kanjari (Belgaum).	Nati (State Rampur).
Wo haughē	Ô hō	Wē hōchē
Maĩ hūdo	Maĩ hando	Khō nō
Taĩ hūdo	Yō hando	Khanū hōchā
Wō hūdo	Ē hando	Woh hōchā
.....	Hamē handā	Kham nō
.....	Tumē handā	Num nō
.....	Ô handā	Wē nō
.....	Huyingō	Hō
.....	Hōwāku	Hōpmā
.....	Hōndo	Hōtē hnē
.....	Hōwar-kō	Hōkar
Maĩ hūghasō	Maĩ hōwungō	Hōgō ka khō rō
Maĩ hūghasō	Maĩ hōwungō	Khō rōgā
.....	Maĩ hōnōch	Mij-kō hōpmā chāhiyē
Lugai	Kuṭwār	Lōthō
Lugaodirē	Kuṭwārku	Lōthnā
Lugaōdō	Kuṭwārde	Lōthtē huē
Lugao-kō	Kuṭwār-kō	Lōth-kar
Maĩ lugairō	Maĩ kuṭwārō	Khū lōhtā rō
Taĩ lugairō	Yō kuṭwārō	Tā lōhtā hai
Wō lugairō	Ē kuṭwārō	Woh lōhtā hai
.....	Hamē kuṭwārō	Kham lōhtē hōchē
.....	Tumē kuṭwārō	Num lōhtē hō
.....	Ô kuṭwārō	Wē lōhtē hōchē
Maĩ lugaōdō	Maĩ kuṭrō	Khū-nē lōthā
Taĩ lugaoghīs	Yō kuṭrō	Num-nē lōthā
Wō lugaoghīs, lugais	Ē kuṭrō	Ūa nō lōthā

Quail.	Sikalgal (Belgama).	English.
Uno thārre	Tā chhō	161. They are.
Maī thārta-thā	Mi hoto	162. I was.
Tā thārta-thā	Tā hoto	163. Thou wast.
Ude thārta-thā	To hoto	164. He was.
Ham thārta-the	Ham hoto	165. We were.
Tame thārta-the	Tam hoto	166. You were.
Uno thārta-the	Tō hata	167. They were.
Thak	Thai	168. Be.
Thakēkyā	Thaiwānō	169. To be.
Thak-tā	Thaitōō	170. Being.
Thakōko	Thainō	171. Having been.
Maī thaknūgā	Mi thanngā	172. I may be.
Maī thakungā	Mi thaungō	173. I shall be.
Maī thak-nā	Mi thauch	174. I should be.
Ghād	Nikār	175. Beat.
Ghād-ku	Nikārwānō	176. To beat.
Ghād-tā	Nikārō	177. Beating.
Ghād-ko	Nikārtō	178. Having beaten.
Maī ghādtāi	Mi nikārā	179. I beat.
Tā ghādtāi	Tā nikār	180. Thou beatest.
Ude ghādtāi	Tā nikār	181. He beats.
Ham ghādte	Ham nikārō	182. We beat.
Tame ghādte	Tam nikār	183. You beat.
Uno ghādte	Tē nikār	184. They beat.
Maī ghādyā	Mi nikāryō	185. I beat (Past Tense).
Tā ghādyā	Tā nikāryō	186. Thou beatest (Past Tense).
Ude ghādyā	Tō nikāryō	187. He beat (Past Tense).

English.	Ōfiki (Creek).	Sēsi (Ordinary).	Sēsi (Criminal).
188. We beat (<i>Past Tense</i>).	Amī mārā . . .	Hamē mārā . . .	Hamē lōyā . . .
189. You beat (<i>Past Tense</i>).	Tamī mārā . . .	Tamē mārā . . .	Tamē lōyā . . .
190. They beat (<i>Past Tense</i>).	Taiyē mārā . . .	Uai upē mārā . . .	Buai upē lōyā . . .
191. I am beating . . .	Hē mārē sē . . .	Haū piā mārā haī, or haū mārā rihā haī.	Haū lōtā hōpē, haū lōi rihā hōpē.
192. I was beating . . .	Hē mārē silā . . .	Haū mārā thiyyā (or siyyā)	Haū lōtā thiyyā . . .
193. I had beaten . . .	Mē mārē silē . . .	Maī mārā thiyyā (or siyyā)	Maī lōyā thiyyā . . .
194. I may beat . . .	Hē mārē . . .	Haū mārē . . .	Haū lōē . . .
195. I shall beat . . .	Hē mārī . . .	Haū mārāgrā . . .	Haū lōgrā . . .
196. Thou wilt beat . . .	Tū mārī . . .	Taū mārāgrā . . .	Taū lōgrā . . .
197. He will beat . . .	Sē mārī . . .	Uh mārāgrā . . .	Buh lōgrā . . .
198. We shall beat . . .	Amī mārā . . .	Ham mārāgrē . . .	Ham lōgrē . . .
199. You will beat . . .	Tamī mārā . . .	Tam mārāgrē . . .	Tam lōgrē . . .
200. They will beat . . .	Sā mārī . . .	Uh mārāgrē . . .	Buh lōgrē . . .
201. I should beat . . .	Māchē mārē khapē . . .	Haū mārā . . .	Haū lōtā . . .
202. I am beaten . . .	Hē marālā sē . . .	Haū mārā jattā haī . . .	Haū lōyā jartā hōpē . . .
203. I was beaten . . .	Hē marālā silā . . .	Haū mārā jattā thiyyā (or siyyā).	Haū lōyā jartā thiyyā (or siyyā).
204. I shall be beaten . . .	Hē marālē . . .	Haū mārā jāgrā . . .	Haū lōyā jārāgrā . . .
205. I go . . .	Hē jāē sē . . .	Haū jattā haī . . .	Haū jartā hōpē . . .
206. Thou goest . . .	Tū jāē sē . . .	Taū jattā haī . . .	Taū jartā hōpē . . .
207. He goes . . .	Sū jāē sē . . .	Uh jattā haī . . .	Buh jartā hōpē . . .
208. We go . . .	Amī jāē sē . . .	Ham jattē hā . . .	Ham jartē hōpē . . .
209. You go . . .	Tamī jāwā sawā . . .	Tam jattē hā . . .	Tam jartē hōpē . . .
210. They go . . .	Sā jāē sē . . .	Uh jattē haī . . .	Buh jartē hōpē . . .
211. I went . . .	Hē gēlā . . .	Haū gayā (<i>pronounced gēā</i>)	Haū gangā (or jartā)
212. Thou wentest . . .	Tū gēlā . . .	Taū gayā . . .	Taū gangā (or jartā)
213. He went . . .	Ō gēlā . . .	Uh gayā . . .	Buh gangā (or jartā)
214. We went . . .	Amī gēlē . . .	Ham gāē . . .	Ham gangē (jartē)

Kāhāli (Akola).	Gadli	Hjānešā.
Ham-nē māryā . . .	Ham lugāyō . . .	Hamō lotō . . .
Tam-nē māryā . . .	Tam lugāyō . . .	Tamō lotō . . .
Unh-nē māryā . . .	Yē lugāyō . . .	Vā lotō . . .
Hū mārtā hē . . .	Mi lugāto hapeh . . .	Mē lotā hū . . .
Hū mārtā thiyā . . .	Mō lugātō chho . . .	Mē lotā hī . . .
Mā-nē māryā thiyā . . .	Mi lugā chho . . .	Mē lotōn . . .
Mē-nē mārnā . . .	Mi lugāwnāgē . . .	Mē lotāngā . . .
Hū māraṅ . . .	Mi lugāwnāgō . . .	Mē lotāngō . . .
Tū māraṅ . . .	Tō lugāwnāgō . . .	Tū lotāngō . . .
Wō māraṅ . . .	Wō lugāwnāgō . . .	Ū lotāngō . . .
Ham māraṅ . . .	Ham lugāwnāgō . . .	Hamō lotāngō . . .
Tam māraṅ . . .	Tam lugāwnāgō . . .	Tamō lotāngō . . .
Vē māraṅ . . .	Yē lugāwnāgō . . .	Vā lotāngō . . .
Mā-nē mārnā . . .	Mi lugānōkuch . . .	Mā lotānōkuch . . .
Mu-ku māryā . . .	Mi lugā(bātā-hapeh . . .	Mē lot dūt hū . . .
Mu-ku māryā thiyā . . .	Mi lugā(bātā-chho . . .	Mē lot dūt hī . . .
Mu-ku māraṅ . . .	Mi lugā(bātāngō . . .	Mē lot dūtāngō . . .
Hū jāt . . .	Mi dghāyilā . . .	Mē hīt . . .
Tū jāt . . .	Tō dghāyilā . . .	Tū hīt . . .
Ō jāt . . .	Wō dghāyilā . . .	Ū hīt . . .
Ham jāt . . .	Ham dghāyilā . . .	Hamō hīt . . .
Tam jāt . . .	Tam dghāyilā . . .	Tamō hīt . . .
Vē jāt . . .	Yē dghāyilā . . .	Vā hīt . . .
Hū gayā . . .	Mi ghayilyō . . .	Mē hītō . . .
Tū gayā . . .	Tō ghayilyō . . .	Tū hītō . . .
Ō gayā . . .	Wō ghayilyō . . .	Ū hītō . . .
Ham gayō . . .	Ham ghayilyō . . .	Hamō hītō . . .

Kanjarī (Sānapur).	Kanjarī (Belgaum).	Natī (State Raupur).
.....	Hamō kuṭrā . . .	Kham-nō lōthā . . .
.....	Tumō kuṭrā . . .	Num-nō lōthā . . .
.....	Ō kuṭrā . . .	Unhō-nō lōthā . . .
Maī lugairō . . .	Maī kuḍḍō hō . . .	Khū lōthā rō . . .
Maī lugaḍḍō . . .	Maī kuḍḍō handō . . .	Khū lōth rahā thā . . .
Maī lugaighirō; maī lugairō	Maī kuṭrōdō . . .	Khū-nō lōthā thā . . .
.....	Maī kuṭuṅgō . . .	Hōgō ko khū lōthō . . .
Maī lugacō; maī lugao- ghasī.	Maī kuṭuṅgō . . .	Khū lōthōgā . . .
Taī lugaoghasī . . .	Yō kuṭiṅgō . . .	Khanī lōthērā . . .
Biṛō lugaoghasī . . .	Ē kuṭiṅgō . . .	Woh lōthērā . . .
.....	Hamō kuṭiṅgā . . .	Kham lōthērō . . .
.....	Tumō kuṭiṅgā . . .	Num lōthērō . . .
.....	Ō kuṭiṅgā . . .	Wē lōthērō . . .
Maī lugaoghasī . . .	Maī kuṭwār-wā-ku hōnā . . .	Maḥ-ko lōthmā chāhiyē . . .
Maī lūgairō gaoghirō . . .	Maī kuṭwār-linō . . .	Khū lōthā gayā rō . . .
Maī lūgairō gaoghirō thō . . .	Maī kuṭwār-gau . . .	Khū lōthā gayā thā . . .
Maī lūgairō gaoghasā . . .	Maī kuṭwār-lōwūngō . . .	Khū lōthā jāṅgā . . .
Maī jaoghadō . . .	Maī nikharūngō . . .	Khū jāsurā . . .
Taī jaoghasī . . .	Yō nikharūngō . . .	Nū jāsurā hai . . .
Wō jaoghasī . . .	Ē nikharūngō . . .	Woh jāsurā hai . . .
.....	Hamō nikhardāī . . .	Kham jāsurō hōchō . . .
.....	Tumō nikhardāī . . .	Num jāsurō hō . . .
.....	Ō nikhardāī . . .	Wō jāsurō hōchō . . .
Maī jaoghirō . . .	Maī gawō . . .	Khū gayā . . .
Taī jaoghirō . . .	Yō gawō . . .	Nū gayā . . .
Wō jaoghirō . . .	Ē gawō . . .	Woh gayā . . .
.....	Hamō gawā . . .	Kham gayō . . .

Quesl.	Sikalgür (Belgum).	Engl.
Ham ghädya	Ham nikäryö	188. We beat (<i>Past Tense</i>).
Tume ghädya	Tum nikäryö	189. You beat (<i>Past Tense</i>).
Uno ghädya	Tö nikäryö	190. They beat (<i>Past Tense</i>).
Mañ ghädta-hai	Mi nikartaü	191. I am beating.
Mañ ghädta-hattä	Mi nikartöu	192. I was beating.
Mañ ghädyaü	Mi nikäryötö	193. I had beaten.
Mañ ghädungä	Mi nikärungä	194. I may beat.
Mañ ghädungä	Mi nikärungö	195. I shall beat.
Tü ghädungä	Tö nikärungö	196. Thou wilt beat.
Une ghädungä	Tö nikärungö	197. He will beat.
Ham ghädungä	Ham nikärungö	198. We shall beat.
Tume ghädungä	Tum nikärungö	199. You will beat.
Uno ghädungä	Tö nikärungö	200. They will beat.
Mañ ghädna	Mi nikäröch	201. I should beat.
Mañ ghäd khaü	Mi nikär-dutyö-chhö	202. I am beaten.
Mañ ghäd khaya	Mi nikär-dutyötö	203. I was beaten.
Mañ ghäd khunögä	Mi nikär-duttuögä	204. I shall be beaten.
Mañ khöwataü	Mi jakan	205. I go.
Tü khöwataü	Tö jakan	206. Thou goest.
Une khöwataü	Tö jakan	207. He goes.
Ham khöwate	Ham jakan	208. We go.
Tume khöwate	Tum jakan	209. You go.
Uno khöwate	Tö jakan	210. They go.
Mañ khöhuwä	Mi gaknyö	211. I want.
Tü khöhuwä	Tö gaknyö	212. Thou wantest.
Une khöhuwä	Tö gaknyö	213. He went.
Ham khöhuwä	Ham gaknyö	214. We went.

English.	Oḍi (Outch).	ଝା (Ordinary).	ଝା (Criminal).
215. You went . . .	Tamī gōlā . . .	Tam gāē . . .	Tam gangō (jārō) . . .
216. They went . . .	Sū gōlā . . .	Uh gāē . . .	Buh gangō (jārō) . . .
217. Go . . .	Jā . . .	Jā, jā . . .	Jaar, jaarō . . .
218. Going . . .	Jātā . . .	Jattā . . .	Jaactā . . .
219. Gone . . .	Gōlā . . .	Gayā . . .	Gaugā, jaarā . . .
220. What is your name ?	Tam-chō nām kāy ?	Tuhārā nā kyā hai ?	Tuhārgā nāthā kyā hōpē ?
221. How old is this horse ?	Hā gōrā kawpāk mē ?	Is ghōrō-gī kyā umr hai ?	Bis kūrō-gī kyā khamr hōpē ?
222. How far is it from here to Kashmir ?	Kashmir aṭhō-ti kitrik chhōṭā sē ?	Bhō Kashmirā tāi kinni dūr hai ?	Bethō Noshmirā tāi kitri khadār hōpē ?
223. How many sons are there in your father's house ?	Tam-chō hā-chē gharā-mā kōtrēk pāt ai ?	Tuhārō bappā-gē gharā bich kitnō pāt hai ?	Tuhārgē bāptō-gē khaulē kitnō bōrō hōpē ?
224. I have walked a long way to-day.	Āj mē lāmbā path karlā sē	Ājj hañ bari dūr turā .	Kōjj hañ jagi khadār purā .
225. The son of my uncle is married to his sister.	Māchō kākō-chā pūt tō-chō bāṭi-nē pēṭlā sē.	Mērō kākō-gā pūt nakīā bānā sāth biāhā hāñ hai.	Mērgē kākō-gā bōrā buskiā (or khapniā) dhabūā nāth chhiābiā hōpiā hōpē.
226. In the house is the saddle of the white horse.	Gharā-mā dhōrō gōrō-chā kēthā sē.	Baggē ghōrō-gī kāthi gharā bich hai.	Dhabaggē kūrō-gī nāthi khaulē bich hōpē.
227. Put the saddle upon his back.	Tō-chi pūthā mātō kēthā māḍā.	Kāthi uskiā piṭhā par bāhō	Nāthi buskiā piṭhā khāpar ḍāwō.
228. I have beaten his son with many stripes.	Mē tō-chō pūtā-nē ghanē phatkō mārē sē.	Māi uskō pūtā-gā barē kōṭlō (bānt or sotē) mārē.	Māi buskō bōrō-gā jadē nōṭlō (nhotē) lō.
229. He is grazing cattle on the top of the hill.	Sū ḍāgrā mātō chōpē charāvē sē.	Uh pahārā-giā chōṭā uppar ḍānger chāḡātā hai.	Buh nahārā-giā nōṭiā khāpar khadāngar nūḡātā hōpē.
230. He is sitting on a horse under that tree.	Sū ō jhārē nichē gōrō mātō bēlā sē.	Uh us rukkhā-gē tal ghōrō-gē uppar baithā hai.	Buh bus khukkhā-gē tal kūrō khāpar thāukīā hōpē.
231. His brother is taller than his sister.	Ē-chi bāṭi-karīā s-chā bhāu ūchā sē.	Uskā bhāt nakīā bānā satthā lammā hai.	Buskā bhautā buskiā (or khapniā) dhabūā nāthā khalammā hōpē.
232. The price of that is two rupees and a half.	Ē-chi kimat aḍhi rūpiē sē .	Iskā mōl dhāt rūpayyē hai	Biskā chimul nāñi baluē (or ruknā or lābē) hōpē.
233. My father lives in that small house.	Māchā hā ō dhārē gharā-mā rō-sē.	Mārā bāpp usukē gharā bich rahtā hai.	Mērgā bāptā bus khikē khaulē bich raḡtā hōpē.
234. Give this rupee to him	Hā rūpiā tō-nē dēwā .	Uskō ēā rūpayyā dē .	Buskō bēā ruknā (baluā, lābā) dēp.
235. Take those rupees from him.	Iē rūpiē tō pāsē-thi ghēwā .	Uskō pāsā uh rūpayyē lei tē	Buskō nāsā buh ruknē lēpi lēp.
236. Beat him well and bind him with ropes.	Ē-nē khōb mārā anē rāḡhve-ti bāḡhā.	Uskō achōhhiā tarā mārō tē rassē sāththi baddhō.	Buskō chāngutā narā lōṭ tō khassē nāth chhōḍwō.
237. Draw water from the well.	Kuwē-māy-ti pāṭi kāḡhā .	Us khōā bichchā pāṭi kaddhō.	Bus nūā khābichchā chāḡ kōḡhwō.
238. Walk before me . . .	Mā agiā chāl . . .	Mērē aggē tarō . . .	Mērgē kuggē nūrō . . .
239. Whose boy comes behind you ?	Tamē wāsē kō-chā pāt āwē sē ?	Tuhārā picchē kiskā pāt ātā hai ?	Tuhārgē nichhē kiskā bōrā astā hōpē ?
240. From whom did you buy that ?	Tamī hāw kō pāsē-ti sēchātī ghēlō ?	Tamō kis-thō uh mōlō liyā ?	Tamō kis-thō buh khamōlō lēpiā ?
241. From a shopkeeper of the village.	Gāmā-chā ēk hātāwārē pās-ti.	Gāwā-gē ēkki dukandārā pāsā.	Dhāmō-(or nādā)-gē bēkki kūtā-wālō nāsā.

Kōhātī (Akola).	Gārdī.	Mylasāli.
Tam gayō	Tam ghayilyō	Tamē hētō
Vō gayō	Yō ghayilyō	Vō hētō
Jā	Dghāyil	Hitrād
Chalyā	Dghālō	Hitō
Gayā	Ghailō	Hitō
Tērā nāwchhā kyā hō ?	Tērō chyonō kō ?	Tērō nōkādō kō ?
Is rhōdō-ki humbar rōttī hōchhō ?	Ē ghōtō-kō kitmō bars ?	Hō ghōdchō-kō kitmō nars ?
Bēthō-sī Kāsmir rōttī dūr hō ?	Jūgū-sī Kāsmir kitmō dūr ?	Hyā-sī Kāsmir kitmō dōg ?
Tērō hāppā-kō khōggō kōttō chhōrō hō ?	Tērō bhāwutō-kō nānd-ma kitmō lāwō ?	Tērō māwutō-kō khōk-mō kitmō gōipō ?
Āj bahōtī dūrā-sī phirī āyā.	Mī āj bharkam hāt chāl-kō hāyilyō.	Mō khāj chhōt dōg rāt nālō.
Mērō kākō-kō chhōrō-kō us-kō bāhānā-sī bihā lagyā.	Wōkō bhantchī mērō kākō-kō lāwō-kō wāhālī.	Wākī bhāktī mērō dhākā-kō gōipō-kō khichwājī.
Us khōggō-mō dhothō rhōdō-kō khōgtr hō.	Wā nānd-ma khujō ghōr-kō khōgtrī chapel.	Wā khōk-mō dhōkō ghōdchō nkhōgtr hōhō.
Us-kō nūttī-par khōgtr dhar.	Wōkō pānchī-pa khōgtrī ghāl.	Wākī nū-kō khōpār nkhōgtr nakhōd.
Us-kō chhōrō-ku hū jōhōt phatke thāyō.	Mī wōkō lāwō-kō bharkam lagyō.	Mō wākī gōipō-kō chhōt lō.
O us nākō-par dhar chharī chiyā.	Wā wā jōkūt-pa kēwō chārōyillā hō.	O nōkādī-kō khōpār ā nōl mārā rhōkō hōhō.
Us nhāqō-kō tanō rhōdō-par thōktī hōchhō.	Wā wā dāhō-kō-tan ghōr-kā-pa thōgryā hō.	Nhād-kō mājō o ghōdchō khōpār (s-rōkō).
Us-kā bhāwtā us-kō bāhānā-sī khuchchā hō.	Wōkō bhantchī-sī ōkō bhāktō khuchchō hapālī.	Wākō bhāktō wākī bhāktō-sī khuchchō hōhō.
Bus-kā mōl kōdhāt tivhō hō.	Ōkī kimmat khādō gaudilō hō.	Wākī dhimmat khādōi dhōkiyā.
Mērō bāptō bus nāchhā khōggō-mō rōkhtā hōchhō.	Mērō bhāwutō nāchhō nānd-ma chapelā.	Mērō māwutō wā nkhōkō khōk-mō rhōkō.
Yō tivā bus-kō dōppō .	Ō-kō yō gaudilō wālā .	Wā-kā yō dhōkiyā khichwāj.
Bus-kō nājikā-sō nō tivhō lyōp.	Ē gaudilō wōkō-sō thāyil .	Wā-pēsō yō dhōkiyā chhōg-bō.
Bus-ku chup tāj ān bus-ku nēkdiyā-sī nādīhī lā.	Ōkō chisam lagā-kā jawdī-sī chīrwānī.	Wā-kā khāchō lōt-kar jōkādī-sō chōnd.
Ruyō-mō-sī chōnt kagō .	Thādgī-mā-sō nīrtā ghāichmēt.	Rāwādī-mō-sō chāyī tōg-bō.
Mērō nhāmō nāl . . .	Mērō khagādī chāl . . .	Mērō khagādī nālāj .
Tērō nichchhā ris-kā bōrā sārā ?	Tērō dghichādī-sō kōn-kō lāwō hāyil ?	Tērō rīpchō kuy-kō gōhō bārwāj ?
Byā rīthō-sī mōlō lyōpyā ?	Tā yō kōn-kā-sī mōl lūnīlyō ?	Tā yō kuy-pēsō dīmal hō ?
Bus rhōdō-kō nūkāndārā-thōt.	Wā nānd-kō ek-mā rawānyā-kā-sī .	Wā nhōdō-kō nūkānwālō-pōt.

Kanjarī (Sitapur).	Kanjarī (Belgaum).	Nālī (State Rampur).
.....	Tumō gawā	Num gayō
.....	Ō gawā	Wē gayō
Jaogh	Nikhar	Jāo
Jaughado	Nikharō	Jāsurtē hō
Raūch gaughirō	Nikhar-gaughī	Jāsurtā huā
Tērō kā nao-hēlō ?	Tērō nām kā ?	Numhārā kyā nām hai ?
Il ghupārō kittō rūphō hai ?	Ē ghōḍō-ki kittī amar ?	Is ruharchō-ki kyā khumar hai ?
Ilhā-sē Kashmir kittī durhēlō hōghō ?	Hyāndē Kāsmīr kitnē dūr hō ?	Ēthō-sē Kashmir kitnī dūr hai ?
Tērō hap-hēlā-ki ribō-mā kai chūbkā hōghō ?	Tērō bāpō-ke nandō-mā kittā baiḍā hō ?	Numhārō khabāp-ke rōhallā-mē kitnē lōhrē hōchē ?
Maī āj dur-hēlō gaughirō	Maī āj bahut dūr rastō chalō hō	Hī āj chhūṭī khadōr chālā rō
Mērō kākā-kā chūbkō burō-ki rahin lōhāis	Urō-ki bhayap mērō kākā-ke baiḍā-ku dinā-hō	Mērō kākā-kā lōhrā us-ki chhēn-sē byāhā gayā
Ribō-mā rapēd ghupārō-kā jin-hēlī hai	Ō nandō-mā ujalē ghōḍō-ki jina hē	Rōhallā-mē us ruharchō-kā gaddā hai
Birō-ki pichēlī-par jin-hēlī thikē	Urō-ki pichēlī-po jina dālwar	Us-ke pēthā-par gaddā dharō
Maī birō-ke chūbkā-kū rahit chabuk lagairō	Maī urō-ki baiḍā-ku bahut ghaḍwāḍō-hō	Mē us-ke lōhrō-ke chhūṭī lōthā
Birō ruhārā-ki ruṭiā par gahēlī charghadi	Yō tēkō-po janāwarō charwārō hō	Woh pahārā-ki gōth par nōhō churā rahā hai
Birō pērhēlā tar ghupārā par chhāithō hai	Ē dghāḍō-ke jīmīni ghōḍō-ke khūpar chētrō-hō	Woh us pēr-ki khatar bēk ruharchī-par thōkā hai
Birō-ko chibhāī burā-ki rahinā-sē lambō hai	Urō-ko bhāī urō-ki bhayap-dē khūñchī hē	Us-kā bhāṭā us-ki chhannī-sē chhūṭī khālambā hai
Birō-kā dam-hēlā kharaīl gōlī hai	Us-ki kimmat jawādūā kailā	Us-ki rimmat khāī khambā hai
Mērō lap-hēlō birō chhūṭārō ribō-mē hē	Mērō bāpōne wō nunnke nandō-mā rahēndō	Mērā nāp us nanuhō rōhallā-mē rōhtā hai
Jā gōlī birō tior	Yō kailā urō-ku kido	Yah khambā us-ko dēpt dō
Wō gōlī birō-sē lō-lingh	Urō-ke pās-dē wō kailā chautga-lō	Woh khambā us-sē lēpt lō
Birō-ko khūb lugal baur jibōrhēlī-sē chāḍh	Urō-ku nīrō ghaḍwāḍ-ke rasēlī-dē bandwār	Usē khūb lōthō aur jōriyō-sē bādhē dō
Dhūā-sē nimānī nikār	Bawādī-mā-dē niwāgī khich-wār	Rōī-sē chhāī tēki lō
Mērō khāḡlō chalugh	Mērō sambār chalwār	Mērō gōḡē chalo
Tērō nichhē kinō-ke chūbkō aughado ?	Tērō pichwāḍ-dē kirō-ke baiḍō awardō ?	Numhārō nichhē kis-kā bōlirā āsurtā hai ?
Kinō-sē tāī mulah lō lughīyō ?	Yō kirō-ke pās-dē kimatīne līnō ?	Num-nō woh nich kis-sē lēptī hī ?
Gnobēlā-ke bēk baniō-sē	Ō khēḍō-ke ekkan dūbān-wālā ke pās-dē	Nandwā-ke bēk bāniyā-re

Qasī.	Sikalgiri (Belgannu).	English.
Tume khūhuwā	Tum gakyō	215. You want.
Uno khūhuwā	Tō gakyō	216. They want.
Khū	Jākan	217. Go.
Khūwatā	Jākanā	218. Going.
Khūwāsā	Gaknal	219. Gone.
Tērā nau kyā ?	Tārū nām aū ?	220. What is your name ?
Yē ghōḍē-ku kette sāl ?	Yē chhimnā-nō kokhalā warakh ?	221. How old is this horse ?
Hyāsi Kāsmir kette dūr ?	Hyā-tō Kāsmir kokhalā dūr ?	222. How far is it from here to Kashmir ?
Tērā bābā-kā nann-me kettā kachēle ?	Tārā yabā-nā khōl-mā kokhalā dikarā chhē ?	223. How many sons are there in your father's house ?
Maī āj bahut dūr bāt chalwāḍku awaryā	Mī āj ghanā dūr wāt chālyō	224. I have walked a long way to-day.
Ume bhāp mērā chichhē-kā kachēlā-ku kidyātā	Tinī bhōn mārā kākā-nā dikarā-nō garyōch	225. The son of my uncle is married to his sister.
Ō nann-me ujālē ghōḍē-ke khōḡir thag-tiyē	Tinā khōl-mā dhōḷō chhimnā-nō khōḡir chhē	226. In the house is the saddle of the white horse.
Uakti pūt-kū uppar khōḡir sāl	Tinā pūḍā-par khōḡir ghāgal	227. Put the saddle upon his back.
Maī nakā kachēlā-ku bahut ghāḍyā-haū	Mī tinā chhōkṇāne ghantōl nikāryō	228. I have beaten his son with many stripes.
Ume ō dōngar-ke uppar gōṭpe charwāḍtā hai	Tō tēkadā-par ḡhōrō charwāḷāgyō	229. He is grazing cattle on the top of the hill.
Ume ō dīhād-ke talē ghōḍē-ke uppar batwāḍe	Tō dīhādō khōḷō chhimnā-par bukhiyō	230. He is sitting on a horse under that tree.
Uekā bhai nakā bhāp-se unchā thāṭtāū	Tinī bhāp-tī tinō bhāyī uchhō chhō	231. His brother is taller than his sister.
Uakti kimmat jawāns kailā	Tinī kimmat khāḍī sabādā	232. The price of that is two rupees and a half.
Mērā bābā ō subak nann-me thagtaū	Mārō yabō tō nānchōn khōl-mā rakhān	233. My father lives in that small house.
Uaku ō kailā kīd	Tinō yē sabādā gār	234. Give this rupee to him.
Ō kalle uske pās-te māngālīe	Tī-kantā yē sabādā chigārīlō	235. Take those rupees from him.
Uae sēbā tarā-se ghāḍkō rās-se bandāl	Tinō ghantōl nikārī-nō dōḍḍā-tō chhānd	236. Beat him well and bind him with ropes.
Bāwāḍī-mē-sī nīrgā khaīchāl	Ir-mā-tā pānī kāḡōt	237. Draw water from the well.
Mērā sāmnē chalwāḍ	Mō khāmō chāgal	238. Walk before me.
Tērā pichēsi kis-kā chhankā awartaū ?	Tārā pāchō kīnō chhōkṇō akhiyō ?	239. Whose boy comes behind you ?
Kis-ke pās-te tume ō māul-ku hīḍāpyā ?	Tō tē kī-kantō khikkātō-lākhīyō ?	240. From whom did you buy that ?
Khōḍē-kū ektap-ḍukānwālā pāste	Khōḍā-nā wātīyā-kantō	241. From a shopkeeper of the village.

